

Why Reagan backs British war of terror against Argentina



Reagan fears anti-imperialist upsurge of Argentine workers. Above, April 26 Buenos Aires march. Banner reads: "Neither Yankees nor English. Long live Argentina."

BY HARRY RING

MAY 5—The Reagan administration shares responsibility with the British government for the savage bloodletting against Argentina.

The treacherous British sinking of the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*, at a cost of more than 300 lives, came three days after Washington openly declared its military and political support to Britain against Argentina.

The Argentine ship was 250 miles from the Malvinas Islands when it was sunk. The British brazenly acknowledged it was well outside its blockade zone, and that the decision to sink it with 1,042 people aboard was deliberate.

"My understanding is that if a shot is fired the shot is fired to sink," a British war department spokesman said.

On May 4 Argentine forces sank a

British destroyer, with the loss of some 30 lives. Those casualties, too, can be added to the toll of Britain's war on Argentina.

The Thatcher government in London is paying a political price for the brutal attack on the *General Belgrano*.

In a sure reflection of popular sentiment in Britain, the sinking was assailed in both houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords, Lord Jenkins branded the action as "mass murder on the high seas."

He said the sinking of the *General Belgrano* "has caused a massive swing of world opinion toward the Argentines."

This swing was registered by, among others, the Irish government, which far from adequately reflects the deep opposition to British imperialism among the Irish people.

The Irish minister of defense said: "We felt that Argentina was the first aggressor and originally backed Britain. But obviously the British themselves are very much the aggressors now, and we are taking a neutral stance."

Only Washington seemed unmoved by the British savagery, and the Reagan administration continues its full support to the Thatcher government.

U.S. aid

Use of the U.S. base at Ascension Island is a key piece in the British military operation. British forces are being supplied with U.S.-obtained military intelligence, and the British have the assurance of U.S. military supplies as needed.

In addition, Washington announced April 30 economic and military supply sanctions against Argentina.

The U.S. government was never neutral in the conflict, despite its claims. From the beginning, it looked at the British-Argentine struggle from the standpoint of how best to protect U.S. profits and colonial domination not only in Argentina but throughout Latin America.

Until Argentina reclaimed the Malvinas Islands (dubbed "Falklands" by the British), the Reagan administration had close ties with the military junta there.

The right-wing Argentine junta had supplied military advisers to work with U.S. counterparts in organizing an un-

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Immigration raids threaten all labor

More than 5,000 workers have been arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in nationwide raids of factories, shops, and restaurants.

This racist government dragnet, targeting undocumented workers from Central and South America, is a threat to the labor movement as a whole. It represents another escalation of Reagan's overall attack on the democratic rights of the working class in this country as he pushes deeper into war abroad.

Hundreds of cops have been unleashed by the INS to bust into workplaces and arrest whomever they please. They have already claimed the life of one man, a poultry farm worker in Boulder, Colorado, who was hit by a

creating jobs. Rather, by terrorizing undocumented and other non-white workers, they help the bosses maintain a sector of the working class as illegal pariahs, underpaid and superexploited, fearful of fighting for better working conditions because they might get deported.

This intimidation and superexploitation in turn hurt all workers. They drag down the wages and working conditions for everyone, which is a major goal for the employers as they seek to squeeze more and more profits from our labor. The kind of pittance wages paid most

undocumented workers are what the bosses would like to pay all workers, as their drive for givebacks in contract negotiations with auto workers and others shows.

The attack launched by the government in the form of "Project Jobs" is much broader than an attempt to create a scapegoat for the high unemployment rate.

Many of the workers that were dragged out of factories in these raids were in fact citizens who the INS thought looked "foreign."

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Cops herd workers onto bus in Chicago deportation raid.

EDITORIAL

truck April 30 while fleeing the agents of *la migra*.

The raids have struck fear in every Latino community in the country.

"They came in here like Jesse James, scaring people half to death" was how Anthony Spinale, the owner of a fruit company in the Bronx, New York, described one raid.

After being picked up, the workers are treated with the kind of due process that Latino workers have come to expect from this government.

One affidavit quoted two undocumented workers as saying that an immigration official told them that a lawyer would cost \$4,000, and that "their fingers would be broken if they refused to provide their finger prints."

The widely publicized dragnet was cynically code-named "Project Jobs." But what it really amounts to is a crude attempt to shift the blame for unemployment off the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, and instead place it on the lowest-paid, most exploited section of workers in this country.

"If they are trying to open up high-paying jobs to citizens, then this raid is a joke," said Spinale. Then he proceeded to explain how he paid his workers the minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour.

These raids have nothing to do with

BY LARRY SEIGLE

Washington's war policy and the fight against it are at the center of American politics today. Antiwar sentiment has erupted into public activities, statements, and discussions on what appear to be a variety of issues, ranging from opposition to nuclear bombs to protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

But these issues are not separate at all. They are each part of the deepening opposition to the war policies of the Democrats and Republicans who wield power today in Washington.

For all opponents of these war policies — first and foremost for socialist workers and youth — the question of the hour is how to make this emerging antiwar movement into an effective force.

The demonstrations called for June 12 at the United Nations in New York, and in other cities, are the decisive opportunity for beginning to assemble the forces for such a movement. All opponents of war should throw themselves into the organizing efforts to guarantee that June 12 will be a massive, stinging repudiation of Washington's arms buildup and its acts of aggression in Latin America and throughout the world.

To accomplish this, and to build a movement that will grow beyond June 12, participants in this developing antiwar struggle have to think through the main lines of strategy for advancing the fight against war today. This article will open a discussion of this topic in the pages of the *Militant*.

The starting point in the fight against

war, including nuclear war, is recognizing that the prevention of future wars begins with the battle against the war policy and the wars that Washington is waging today.

This is being driven home to millions right now as the casualties in the British-U.S. war against Argentina are mounting at a horrifying rate. Within hours after Reagan openly extended U.S. military collaboration to the British in their war of colonial reconquest, Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher unleashed the fleet. British forces attacked the Malvinas Islands and sank an Argentine cruiser stationed far from Britain's "exclusion zone," slaughtering hundreds of Argentine sailors in what can only be considered an

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What strategy for new antiwar movement?

Why Reagan backs British war of terror

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declared war against the revolutionary government of Nicaragua, and was also reported helping with U.S. efforts to defend the Salvadoran regime against the liberation forces in that country.

And the junta has played the important role of repressing an increasingly restive Argentine working class, bled dry by U.S. and British imperialist profiteers.

Could lose junta

In fact, Washington's major worry right now is that the rebellious Argentine workers may topple the junta in order to more effectively fight the costly

For more coverage of Argentina, see page 15.

imperialist domination of their country.

And that could spark further battles against imperialism in other parts of South and Central America.

North American big business has a substantial stake in semicolonial Argentina.

The Ford Motor Company, Exxon, and IBM have subsidiaries in Argentina which enjoy combined gross annual sales of \$3.5 billion.

One set of figures indicates how Argentina is dominated by foreign capital. In 1960 there were 21 auto companies in the country, four of them majority foreign-owned. Today there are only five auto makers left, with the rest bought up or driven out of business. Those five are foreign owned.

These companies take the big bulk of their profits out of the country, reinvesting little of it. As a result, Argentina has been particularly hard hit by the world economic crisis.

Inflation runs at a staggering 150 percent a year, and well over 10 percent of the workforce is unemployed.

Argentina is heavily in debt to U.S. and British banks. To ensure continuing payments on those debts, and continuing profits to foreign investors, the Argentine workers and farmers have been the targets of an austerity drive against their living standards. It's the job of the junta to enforce the austerity.

But the Argentine working class is powerful, and its unions have a tradition of hard-fought battles against the employers and government.

On March 30, its opposition to the repressive military regime, and to the economic suffering erupted in a massive union-led protest demonstration. In the capital, Buenos Aires, thousands defied

a ban on such actions and poured into the streets. Two thousand were arrested, but the junta was clearly frightened. Three days later, it occupied the Malvinas Islands.

Anti-Haig protest

On April 10, while U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was in Buenos Aires to "negotiate" on behalf of the British, the junta called for a public turnout in support of reclaiming the Malvinas.

Nearly 300,000 people responded. But along with anti-imperialist slogans, they chanted slogans against the junta.

On April 26, they took to the streets again. According to the New York Daily News, there were 40,000 demonstrators. And, the paper reported, they chanted, "No to the government! Yes to the Malvinas!"

A big placard carried at the front of the crowd was emblazoned: "Neither Yankees, nor English! Long live Argentina!"

A banner declared, "British out of the Islands! Yankees out of Latin America!" A Buenos Aires editor told a U.S. reporter: "The Malvinas has completely changed the situation in Argentina. The government no longer controls the streets."

On April 30, the semilegal General

Confederation of Labor called a May Day demonstration. A reported several thousand workers joined in.

The May 1 New York Times reported: "Though small, the rally . . . gave the flavor of long suppressed forces that have increasingly come to the surface of Argentina's political life since the Argentine takeover of the Falkland Islands on April 2. . . .

"One long white banner held aloft read, 'May 1 — the workers against the English and the exploiters.'"

This is a particularly acute problem for the ruling circles in the United States because they are already deeply involved in trying to maintain "stability" in Central America.

Only the depth of antiwar sentiment in this country has thus far prevented the Reagan administration from dispatching troops to El Salvador to save the right-wing dictatorship there. At the same time, it presses its undeclared war against Nicaragua, escalates arms shipments to the military in Guatemala, and tightens the screws on Cuba.

In that situation, like the British imperialists, Washington could not tolerate the act of defiance by Argentina in boldly reclaiming the islands long, and illegally, held by the British.

And the situation is worse for Washington than it anticipated. The Argen-

tine workers have responded as a solid force in support of Argentina's right to the Malvinas. They have pressed for a genuine struggle against the British warmakers and have also been trying to utilize the situation to get the junta off their backs.

That's the kind of thing that can promote "instability" throughout Latin America at a moment when Washington can least afford it.

Meanwhile, the murderous British government can expect world protest and growing domestic opposition. On May 2, the London Sunday Times reported a poll showing that two-thirds of the British people felt that holding on to the Malvinas Islands was not worth the life of a single British soldier.

And that was before the cold-blood sinking of the General Belgrano and the loss of the British destroyer.

To our subscribers

With this issue we have updated our sorting procedure for second-class mailed subscriptions. It is our hope that subscribers will receive the *Militant* faster. Please let us know if this improves delivery time.

L.A. INS raids spark fear, protest

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raids on undocumented workers spread fear in the Latino community here. This is what they are intended to do.

However, while streets in some areas have become deserted and business has dropped off dramatically at supermarkets frequented by Latino workers, the raids have evoked another response as well.

A May Day rally of 500 at McArthur Park featured opposition to the raids. The protest, organized by the Comisión Internacional Coordinadora, a farm workers organization, blasted the more than 600 arrests in Los Angeles and Orange counties.

On April 30, INS agents loaded up buses and vans; victims were pressured to accept "voluntary" deportation.

The pretense that these arrests will provide jobs is a cruel hoax. One only has to look at the numbers.

With an official unemployment rate of

8.6 percent, the Los Angeles area has tens of thousands of people looking for work. The first day of the raids, there were 143 arrests. Over 1,000 people poured into unemployment offices hoping for openings.

What the INS is actually up to has nothing to do with helping the jobless, and it is not aimed at keeping undocumented workers out of California, either.

In Los Angeles County alone it is estimated that there are 500,000 undocumented workers. The garment industry employs 125,000 workers, a large majority of whom are undocumented.

The cynical INS aim is to round up some workers in order to terrorize all others, so that they will continue to work at low-paying jobs, often under illegal conditions, afraid to attract attention to themselves by fighting for their rights.

"At my job there was one Salvadoran," Sara Matthews, a garment worker in the Los Angeles area, told the *Mil-*

itant. "He called up the boss and said he thought he shouldn't come in because of the raids. The boss said okay, fired him, and hired another worker for 50 cents less."

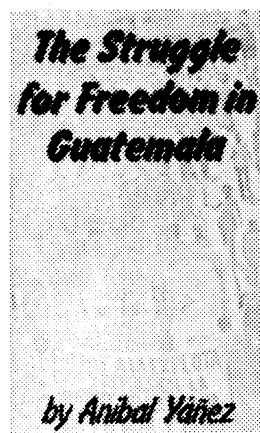
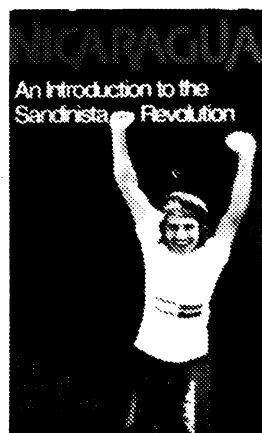
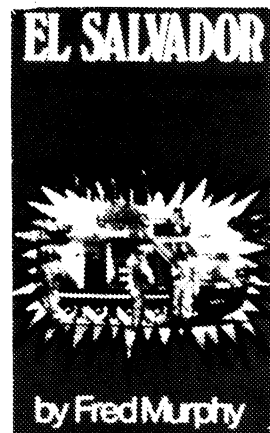
Matthews described the hatred for *la migra* in her shop, the tension in the air, and the hope that the raids are far away.

In addition to the May Day protest against the raids, another protest is being planned for May 13. This protest is being sponsored by the Coalition to Stop the Immigration Raids, which is made up of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, UCLA MEChA (a Chicano student organization), and the Los Angeles Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The march and rally, which will take place outside the INS headquarters at 300 North Los Angeles, will demand "political asylum for Haitian and Salvadoran refugees, opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, and full rights for undocumented workers."

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Polish workers, students take to streets



May Day protest in Warsaw. Demonstrations signal growing confidence of workers and students supporting Solidarity.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

In a dramatic show of resistance after nearly five months of martial law, Polish workers and students demonstrated in the streets on May Day in support of the independent union Solidarity and in opposition to the military crackdown.

It signaled the Polish government's failure to break the union, which was suspended December 13, and indicated growing self-confidence in the fight for workers democracy.

On May 1, some 50,000 workers and students — chanting "We want freedom," "Release Lech Walesa," and "Down with the junta" — marched through the streets of Warsaw's Old Town.

Thirty thousand people are reported to have marched in the city of Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarity. While police stood by, they did not attack the demonstrations.

The Warsaw action was quite a contrast to the official May Day parade, headed by military and Communist Party leaders, that occurred simultaneously.

Recognizing the significance of the traditional workers holiday, the youthful pro-Solidarity crowd chanted, "Our holiday! Our holiday!" as they marched. At one point, contingents of boy scouts in uniform abandoned the government march and joined the other.

"Today, we've shown these robbers our victory," one march leader told the crowd. "There are 10 million of us," he said, referring to the extent of Solidarity's membership, as thousands of hands were raised in "V for victory" signs. The crowd responded with "The whole of Po-

land! The whole of Poland!"

The loudest cheer went up when it was announced that authorities had not succeeded in closing down Radio Solidarity, a clandestine station that has held two broadcasts. The second, on April 30, had been interrupted after several minutes, and it was feared that authorities had found its location. A third broadcast, scheduled for May 3, did not take place.

Leaflets were thrown into the crowd calling for an end to martial law, the release of all detainees, a 100 percent increase in wages, and an end to unemployment.

Banners were unfurled that had been hidden under coats and in knapsacks, reading "Dictatorship no, free Walesa." Solidarity T-shirts were worn openly.

Again on May 3, the anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791, 10,000 people gathered in the Old Town. This time, however, the police attacked the crowd with clubs and hurled tear gas.

People shouted, "We are 10 million" and "Who do you serve?" Crowds broke off to carry the action to other parts of the city, and clashes between police and demonstrators continued into the night. Several dozen people were arrested. Similar actions occurred in other cities.

Another indication of this growing open opposition to martial law was the April 29 announcement by Solidarity activists of the establishment of a Provisional Coordinating Commission. This underground leadership will consist of four union officials from different parts of the country who have escaped detention since the crackdown.

The officials said they would be coordinating union activities until Solidarity's full national commission under Lech Walesa could continue its work.

In two statements, the leadership called on all factories throughout Poland to stop work for 15 minutes on May 13 and asked workers to form committees to aid union members in difficulty, to organize discussion clubs, and to establish print shops for publishing underground bulletins.

At the end of April the government was forced to release 1,000 people from internment. Some 2,000 are still in detention camps set up after December 13. A number of martial law restrictions, including the all-night, nationwide curfew, were also lifted.

Activists released from one camp near Warsaw told the *Washington Post* that imprisonment had not changed their views, and that they would continue to fight for the union's reinstatement.

Protests hit treatment of Haitians

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — Protests in support of Haitian refugees are mounting here after U.S. immigration policy sent 21 more refugees to their deaths off Florida's southern coast during the night of March 28.

At least 200 Haitian refugees enter Florida "illegally" each week, according to Father Tom Wenski of the Haitian Catholic Center in Miami.

On March 28, the 70-foot wooden freighter *Esperancia* approached Florida with a group of nearly 30 Haitians, most of them refugees desperate to escape the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Forty-five-mile-an-hour winds whipped up 15-foot waves, but the tiny *Esperancia* could not make for shore and safety because it was being hounded by the U.S. Coast Guard.

Landing under these conditions would have meant certain arrest and imprisonment in the notorious Krome detention camp, where Haitian refugees are being incarcerated. Haitians here call it "Reagan's concentration camp."

At 9:50 p.m., the Coast Guard patrol was forced to run for shelter.

One hour later, the *Esperancia* foundered and broke up under the high waves.

For two days, bodies washed up on the sands of Highland Beach. Twenty-one Haitians lost their lives.

On April 9, 300 people packed the Grace United Methodist Church in Miami to hear Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, Representative Walter Fauntroy, and Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, condemn the Reagan administration for murdering these 21 Haitians. They demanded that the Krome camp be closed, and that the 2,100 Haitians being held in detention be paroled into the community.

They announced that they were organizing a fact-finding delegation to go to Haiti to reveal the truth about political repression under Duvalier. They called upon everyone to wear red ribbons in a show of support for the refugees.

On April 10, Jackson, Fauntroy, and Lowery spoke at funeral services for 16 of the drowned refugees, whose bodies were never identified. Two thousand attended the services and march held at Fort Lauderdale.

Meanwhile, Catholic Archbishop Edward McCarthy held a news conference to call for the release of all the Haitians being held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He announced that the United States Catholic Conference is prepared to house and care for all the refugees while their appeals for political asylum are being heard.

On April 7, the mayors of Miami, Hialeah, and Dade County told White House official Richard Williamson to free all the Haitians.

Meanwhile, Haitian detainees have stepped up their protests. In the federal prison in Alderston, West Virginia, 57 went on a hunger strike to protest their continued imprisonment. Seven hundred and fifty staged a long strike in the Fort Allen camp in Puerto Rico.

And in Miami, 42 women began a hunger strike at the Krome camp on April 23.

"Freedom, freedom, and again freedom!" they demanded in a written statement. "We are not going back to Haiti."

"We left Haiti enduring countless miseries. We have had our relatives mistreated, killed, until we ourselves could not bear any more. We fled and came over to the United States. . . . Now we say that we fled fire only to find Hell."

"We want to know what the Statue of Liberty in New York stands for. Is it for white people and not for Black? Well now, we the Negroes are tired of suffering."

"We want freedom. We will not eat. We will remain until we die."

Haitian leaders urged the women to end their strike after some collapsed and others had to be fed intravenously while suffering from dehydration.

However, 18 remain on strike today and 21 men have joined them.

Their determination is a blow to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which hoped that the harsh and depressing conditions in the detention camps would convince many refugees to give up and return to Haiti. However, in the first three-and-a-half months of 1982, only 34 out of the 2,100 in detention have given in.

together with Haiti's Duvalier dictatorship, to send "willing" Haitian refugees to the newly independent nation of Belize, south of Mexico. The U.S. government would foot the bill for transportation and resettlement of Haitians from U.S. prisons to Belize, as well as pay for Haitian "settlers" coming directly from Haiti.

The January 2 Coalition has condemned these moves and is planning a demonstration on June 5. The Belize plan, it charges, is an attempt to "isolate the refugees" and "defuse the underlying issues."

For more information contact: January 2 Coalition for the Defense of Haitian Refugees, 527 Ocean Ave., Room 1, Brooklyn, New York 11226. Phone: (212) 462-8519.

Judge orders parole for refugees

On March 5 federal district court Judge Robert Carter accused the U.S. government of discrimination for denying parole rights to 53 Haitians imprisoned at the Brooklyn Navy Yard pending asylum hearings.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) tried to delay granting parole to the Haitians, but on April 5 Judge Carter ordered the Haitians to be released within one week.

Although this decision does not grant political asylum to the Haitians, it is an important victory in that now all 2,800 Haitians detained in prisons around the United States will be eligible for parole.

The January 2 Coalition for the Defense of Haitian Refugees has warned of a proposed plan by the U.S. government,

Clashes spread across Poland

As we go to press, the Polish government has reintroduced evening curfews, cut telephone service, and banned the use of passenger cars, as clashes between pro-Solidarity demonstrators and police spread throughout the country.

According to the government, 1,372 people have been arrested, including 271 in Warsaw. Seventy-two policemen were reported injured. The number of demonstrators hurt is not known. Violence was initiated by club-swinging police, and the protesters' response was aimed only at them.

Street actions took place May 3 in major cities like Gdansk, Szczecin, Lodz, and Cracow, as well as in small towns. As of May 4, some clashes were still occurring.

In Szczecin, barricades were erected by marchers. In Gdansk, some 10,000 people marched through the streets. According to reports, the Communist Party headquarters there was attacked and a police storehouse burned down.

What strategy for antiwar movement?

June 12 is key opportunity to say 'no' to U.S. war policy

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act of mass murder on the high seas.

British sailors, too, are being sacrificed, victims of Thatcher's imperialist war.

President Reagan, after shedding a crocodile tear for the lost sailors, reaffirmed U.S. military support to Thatcher's royal pirate fleet.

In a chilling warning that the South Atlantic war poses an immediate threat to the people of the whole world, columnist Jack Anderson reported April 30 that the British ships off the Malvinas Islands are carrying nuclear weapons. The fleet commander has the authority to use them if faced with "grave circumstances."

British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym was widely quoted in radio reports as reminding the Argentines that the British would not rule out dropping a "tactical" nuclear bomb on Buenos Aires if the sea battle turned against them.

Thus, for all opponents of war, and especially for those who understand the horror nuclear war would bring, action against the war being waged by the London-Washington alliance is an urgent necessity.

Nor is the South Atlantic war the only one the U.S. government is involved in today. Reagan's dirty war in Nicaragua is under way, aimed at bringing down the Sandinista government. Although American combat troops are not now being used, Green Beret "advisers" are heavily involved in the counterrevolutionary war being waged from just across the Honduran border. Invaders based in Honduras are inflicting significant casualties, with battles almost daily. CIA-organized terror squads have blown up bridges and committed other acts of sabotage.

In El Salvador, the dictatorship created and armed by the U.S. government is carrying on a full-scale war against the workers and peasants, who are struggling to free their land from exploitation and foreign domination.

Is El Salvador a 'divisive' issue?

The antiwar demonstration on June 12, and peace activities leading up to it, have to clearly condemn these wars being waged today by Washington and its allies.

Unfortunately, however, some of the official organizers of the June 12 rally are trying to exclude opposition to Washington's current war policies by limiting the demonstration to a general call for disarmament and opposition to nuclear war.

This policy does not reflect the opinions of the vast majority of those who are planning on participating in the demonstration. Rather, it is part of an effort by procapitalist forces, especially those who are operatives for the Democratic Party, to divert the antiwar movement away from a sharp and direct confrontation with Washington's war policies. Their aim is to convert the movement into a political action committee for Democratic candidates who will run on "peace" planks in 1982 and 1984.

This view was clearly presented by Professor Peter Stein, leader of an organization called United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, in an interview with the *New York Times*. The professor, according to the *Times*, "said he hoped to formulate five questions on nuclear topics designed to help voters determine whether candidates were 'serious' about arms control."

"Groups within the antinuclear weapons coalition could disagree sharply over, for example, which arms control policies or candidates to endorse. But Mr. Stein says this is unlikely because the movement has echewed broader, potentially divisive political issues, such as United States involvement in El Salvador, in favor of a 'consciously narrow, single-issue orientation.'"

But the professor's insistence that antiwar activists shun the issue of U.S. intervention in El Salvador would derail the fight against war, including the fight against nuclear war.

The argument is a phony. Opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador is not unpopular among the majority of Americans. It is, in fact, the majority opinion. Even the prowar *Wall Street Journal* was forced to report that all public opinion polls show "the public is extremely reluctant to sanction American involvement — however minimal — in El Salvador. Proposals for further economic aid elicit solid disapproval. The notion of sending troops, not surprisingly, is abhorred."

"No matter how questions are phrased, no matter how the numbers are read, they reveal genuine hesitation to endorse any form of American participation in El Salvador."

Thus it is not the American people who would be turned off by a demonstration clearly linking opposition to the U.S. nuclear arms buildup to the demand for a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Rather, it is the capitalist politicians and their supporters — who are happy to speak of peace in the abstract, provided they don't have to oppose today's bipartisan war policy — who feel that El Salvador is a "divisive" issue for opponents of war to raise.

Democratic 'path of life'

Thus in a recent speech in the House of Representatives on the danger of nuclear war, Speaker Thomas O'Neill, a Democrat, appealed to his colleagues to choose "the path of life, not the path of catastrophe and annihilation." But the Speaker omitted any mention of the catastrophe and annihilation Washington is trying to inflict on Central America today!

On the Senate side, Democrat Edward Kennedy, the presidential aspirant, bemoaned the fact that "today the arms race rushes ahead toward a nuclear confrontation that could well mean the annihilation of the human race."

Yet just weeks before, Kennedy had voted to "rush ahead" with the entire war spending increase, and more, asked by Reagan. Kennedy voted for a \$208.6 billion appropriation, up by 22 percent over last year. Kennedy, joining the 84-5 majority in the Senate, also voted to approve all the funds the White House wanted for the MX missile and the B1 bomber.

As the *Washington Post* noted at the time, the lopsided bipartisan majority "was one more sign of congressional willingness to go along with the president in increasing military spending this year while cutting back on domestic programs."

The Democratic and Republican politicians and their promoters, who today are swarming around the growing antiwar movement like flies around honey, portray themselves as "peace" advocates in an effort to improve their chances in the upcoming elections, and to keep the movement within the confines of the two-party political framework.

Opponents of war who are organizing for a big and militant June 12 demonstration cannot allow these supporters of Washington's war policies to sabotage the fight against war by eliminating opposition to Washington's current wars from the protests.

A demonstration in the name of "peace" that remained silent on Washington's current wars — in Central and South America first of all — would be a sham and a fraud. Such a demonstration would give the perpetrators of that war policy political cover, by making it appear to the world that peace advocates in this country are not concerned about U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua, or about U.S. backing for Thatcher's bloody assault on Argentina.

Fortunately, this position is being widely rejected by forces in New York and around the country who are determined to see that June 12 is a resounding repudiation of Washington's war policies. Prominent among these forces are Black groups such as the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front. They are being joined by activists who have been organizing solidarity actions with the revolutionary struggles in Central America, by antidraft organizers, union activists, and others, including the members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Roots of nuclear war danger

These forces understand that the deepening opposition to nuclear weapons and concern over the danger of nuclear war are being fueled by the growing conviction of millions that Reagan is pursuing a course that will drag us into a Vietnam War, greatly increasing the risk of nuclear destruction.

The threat of nuclear holocaust is not new. It has been hanging over the world ever since the U.S. government used the atomic bomb against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Two generations have grown up haunted by the knowledge that a nuclear war could break out at any moment, and that the chances for survival of the human race would be slim at best.

What is new today is that more and more people correctly perceive that the current war policy of Washington is increasing the danger of nuclear annihilation. This belief is reinforced by the bellicose statements from Reagan, Haig, and other officials about a "winnable" nuclear war, the possibility of firing nuclear "warning" shots, and the refusal to disavow the first use of nuclear weapons. The administration further attempts to reinforce public acceptance of this nuclear brinksmanship by promoting bomb shelters and other phony civil defense measures.

Thus it is precisely the connection between the current war policies of Washington and the danger that they will lead to nuclear war that is responsible for mobilizing such widespread antinuclear war activities. They are part and parcel of the same issue.

Nuclear and 'conventional' war

The current U.S. war policy, which is completely bipartisan, includes a vast buildup of both nuclear weapons and "conventional" — that is, non-nuclear — forces. The latter include the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces, billions for new warships and planes, enormous expansion of chemical and biological weapons, and the systematic campaign to prepare the American people to accept reintroduction of the draft.

Washington's permanent drive to increase its nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union is designed not to "deter" a Soviet attack on this country (which America's rulers know full well is not the Soviet aim or intention), but to create a nuclear shield to ensure that Moscow does nothing to respond to Washington's war of aggression around the globe. The U.S. nuclear "deterrent" is aimed at clearing the way for "conventional" wars.

In other words, Washington's nuclear arms buildup is part of its preparation for using its conventional military might to stop the advance of the world revolution. The danger of nuclear war is not separate from Washington's policy of beefing up its capacity to wage new Vietnam wars; it is an essential component of it.

That is why it would be self-defeating for antiwar activists to limit their demonstrations to opposing nuclear weapons, while implicitly accepting the idea of lesser-evil "conventional" wars. It is precisely because of Washington's drive toward such "conventional" wars that

the nuclear danger emerges so sharply.

A corollary to the proposal to exclude opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America is the insistence of some of the official march organizers that June 12 focus on demanding a "bilateral freeze" of nuclear weapons, and reject the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the United States.

The "bilateral freeze" strategy has been given a big play in the news media, which often talk about the "freeze campaign" instead of the antiwar movement.

Moreover, many activities carried out by proponents of the "bilateral freeze" strategy have attracted widespread support from antiwar activists. In California, hundreds of thousands have enthusiastically signed petitions to place a "bilateral freeze" measure on the ballot. Similar petitions are being circulated in other states as well.

The positive response to these petitions is a reflection of the mass support that exists for any avenue that appears to express opposition to Reagan's war policies, including his nuclear buildup and blackmail strategy. The vast majority of those who sign the petitions see their actions as a way to protest Washington's war policy.

But the strategists of the "bilateral freeze" have something else in mind. This is made clear by looking at what the fine print of the California petition actually says:

"The people of the state of California, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people, and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased, by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which will result in millions of deaths of people in California and throughout the nation, do hereby urge that the government of the United States propose to the government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to immediately halt testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

Taking blame off Washington

Thus, the petition demands nothing of Washington except that it propose to Moscow talks on limiting the increase of nuclear weapons. It does not demand that Washington immediately freeze its expansion of nuclear weaponry, let alone that it reduce or eliminate its nuclear arsenal.

This takes the onus for the war policy off Washington, where it belongs.

That this is exactly the intention of the organizers of the "bilateral freeze" was made crystal clear by Harold Willens, who is bankrolling the initiative. Willens, a millionaire real estate speculator, is a former official in the Carter administration.

In the February 21 *Los Angeles Times*, Willens responded to charges of critics that the "bilateral freeze" initiative is too radical. Willens stressed that "our very name is Californians for a BILATERAL Nuclear Weapons Freeze."

"We who are promoting the freeze," Willens stresses, are *against* a unilateral approach.

"What if the Russians say no, what then?" Our answer: "Then the whole thing is off." For as our initiative says, "The safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people."

But it is exactly the false claim that Washington's war machine — nuclear and "conventional" — is designed for the defense of anything other than profits that is being challenged by the antiwar movement.

Many antiwar activists already see



Militant/Duane Stilwell

that the "bilateral freeze" strategy is a double trap.

First, if the movement were to adopt it as its platform, we would be setting ourselves up for our central slogan to be co-opted by prowar forces. All Reagan, or his successor, would need to do is to make a diplomatic maneuver in the direction of peace talks with the Soviets, and he could claim he was carrying out the will of the peace movement. This has happened many times in the past. "Bilateral freeze" proposals have come from the White House several times in the past. When James Carter entered the White House, his propaganda ploy was to propose not a freeze but a *reduction* in nuclear delivery systems.

In fact, according to the *New York Times* of May 1, Reagan is now planning to make "a dramatic speech on the subject, probably before leaving for Europe in June," and wants "negotiations with Moscow to begin by the end of June."

The *Times* says: "The Administration's main concern, according to the officials, is to go on record quickly with a simple and comprehensible plan [on nuclear arms] to show that the Reagan team is for peace, thus taking some of the steam out of the nuclear freeze movements in Europe and the United States."

Whose 'safety and security'?

But the "bilateral freeze" strategy sets a trap for the antiwar movement that is much deeper than simply setting itself up to be co-opted by a "peace" president.

If the antiwar movement were to accept the framework of "bilateralism," it would concede at the outset that some amount of U.S. weapons, armies, and war budgets are necessary to protect the country against a Soviet attack. And it would be doing so just at the time when growing numbers of working people are becoming convinced that the U.S. war machine has absolutely *nothing* to do with the defense or security of working people, nor with defending freedom and democratic rights here or anywhere else.

The course of current events is showing that the wars that are the feature of the period in which we live are not created by a Soviet conspiracy. They result from imperialist efforts to prevent popular revolutions from succeeding.

The debacle of the administration's efforts to persuade the American people that the revolution in El Salvador is the result of a Russian plot is an example of this.

The "bilateral freeze" strategy, however, concedes the false premise that the Soviet Union poses a threat to which the United States must respond with military preparedness.

Soviet Union not expansionist

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union is not an imperialist or an expansionist power.

The United States is run by a capital-

ist class. Capital requires expanding markets, fresh and reliable sources of raw materials, cheaper labor power, and new areas for profitable investment. Without these, profits are endangered. But the capitalist system exists for the sake of profits and nothing else. Therefore, wars to secure these necessities for capitalism are inseparable from the system itself. This fact has left its bloody mark on this entire century.

But capitalism has been abolished in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers state, though one today governed by a privileged bureaucratic minority whose interests are counterposed to the interests of the Soviet workers and peasants. The socialized property relations established as a result of the October 1917 revolution remain in force. As a result, the drive toward expansion and war that is built into the capitalist system is not present in the Soviet Union.

It is not necessary to agree on the class character of the Soviet Union in order to build an effective antiwar movement in this country. But what is essential if the movement is to go forward is that it clearly focus its fire on the big-business government in Washington as the culprit responsible for the war danger. It must not cede an inch of ground to those who want to justify Washington's war policies by citing the mythical Soviet "threat."

That is why the "bilateral freeze" strategy should be emphatically rejected by the movement, and replaced with

clear and forceful demands for unconditional and unilateral disarmament by Washington.

A 'presidential' issue

The real purpose of the "bilateral freeze" proposal is to provide a "peace" plank for the platform of Democratic and Republican candidates in the upcoming elections, and to deliver the votes of those who are opposed to war to the parties of war.

As could be anticipated, one of the first hustlers in the field has been Kennedy. The early presidential contender has introduced, along with Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, a "bilateral freeze" resolution. (It asks even less than the California petition.) It is the opening shot in Kennedy's bid for the Democratic nomination in 1984.

As the *New York Times* reported April 16: "The speculation about the Senator and 1984 has also intensified with his recent emergence as a leader in the movement to freeze the buildup of nuclear weapons. That issue is increasingly regarded as 'Presidential' in nature, one that the right politician might ride a good way to the White House."

Thus the bait is laid out by those who would subordinate the fight against war to support for the capitalist two-party setup. But the emerging movement against war cannot be subordinated to capitalist politics if it is going to be successful. This is because both the Democratic and Republican parties are war parties.

Were the new antiwar movement to

subordinate its goals and demands to those acceptable to capitalist politicians, it would be subordinating itself to the war parties. This would be fatal.

Organize majority opinion

Those who would like to see June 12 turned into a campaign rally for Kennedy and other prowar "peace" candidates do not represent the majority of activists in the fight against war. Nor do their proposals to prevent the demonstration from opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, and to divert it into the "bilateral freeze" strategy represent the opinions of the majority of the American people. Their approach would not broaden the demonstration, but narrow it.

The road to building June 12 into a powerful start for the new antiwar movement points in the opposite direction.

As the economic crisis continues to drive down the standard of living of the working class, the sentiment is growing that the money the Democrats and Republicans are voting for new weapons of mass destruction could be put to use instead providing jobs, housing, health care, and education for working people.

As the U.S. presses ahead with its war against the peoples of Central America, the spectre of another Vietnam War looms larger and larger, and the American people in their vast majority are saying, "This is not our war!"

Working people know beyond any doubt that it is we who are paying for the war drive. It is working-class and farm youth who will be killed in battle, and it is working people today who suffer from the inflation and cutbacks in social services resulting from the vast expansion of war spending.

This is especially true for Blacks and Latinos, who are hit doubly hard — sent to the front lines in war, and to the back of the line when it comes to jobs and benefits at home.

That is why the conviction is growing that without putting the fight against war at the top of their agenda, none of the things that working people and the oppressed are fighting for can be won.

Pulling together the forces that can be won to this perspective is the first step in guaranteeing that on June 12 — and afterwards — a powerful new antiwar movement will be born in this country.

Reagan ban on travel to Cuba protested

The Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean has issued a denunciation of the Reagan administration's ban on travel to Cuba. The Emergency Campaign is a New York-based antiwar committee.

The group called the government's announcement of the ban "a political provocation . . . the latest in a long series of U.S. attacks and threats against Cuba by the Reagan administration."

It noted that "the administration's Cuban policy cannot be viewed except within the context of U.S. policy towards the Caribbean and Central America. As such, the new travel ban is a dangerously negative response by the U.S. to Cuba's recent overtures for talks on issues of mutual concern. . . ."

"The new travel regulations are equally alarming for their internal consequences in the U.S. They are a direct attack on the basic right of the American people to travel freely," the committee said.

"The re-imposition of the travel restrictions to Cuba does not portend success for the peaceful settlement of conflicts in the region. On the contrary, U.S. policy is increasingly pointed to a military solution in total disregard for the will and needs of all parties concerned, including the overwhelming

majority of the American people.

"Pressure must be brought to bear on the Reagan Administration to rescind the May 15 travel ban to Cuba," the committee urged.

The Venceremos Brigade, a group that has organized many trips to Cuba,

Third World conference on June 12

The Third World and Progressive People's Coalition (TWPPC) has called for a "mobilizers meeting" in New York May 15 to build for the June 12 antiwar rally.

In a brochure announcing the meeting, the TWPPC explains: "We are part of the growing world movement for the dismantling of all nuclear arsenals, a process which we believe must begin with a call for unconditional U.S. disarmament. Our view also links disarmament with the key issues of U.S. intervention and racism. . . ."

"It would be unconscionable to call a major demonstration against nuclear war while remaining silent about the conventional war already being fought in Central America. Nor can we remain silent about the massive transfer of funds and resources from human needs and social services to the military buildup."

The May 15 mobilizers meeting will

has also issued a protest of the ban. It is holding a meeting May 15 in New York to protest the new restrictions and to hear reports from supporters who have been to Cuba. The meeting takes place at Casa de las Americas, 104 West 14th St., at 8 p.m.

take place at P.S. 41, 116 West 11th St. at Sixth Avenue in Manhattan. It begins at 2 p.m. A rally is scheduled for 7 p.m.

The TWPPC has also produced a leaflet for the June 12 rally. It calls for: "Unconditional U.S. disarmament"; "Redirect resources from the military to meet human needs, especially to minority communities — hardest hit by the cutbacks"; and "No U.S. intervention in Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Caribbean."

Among the endorsers of the coalition listed on the leaflet are the African American Coordinating Committee for Disarmament, National Black Independent Political Party, National Black United Front, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, and Socialist Workers Party.

The coalition is open to all agreeing with the TWPPC's demands.

Interest in Malvinas Conflict

Militant and *Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople report growing concern over Britain's war against Argentina, especially as the U.S. government deepens its involvement on the side of Britain. In Washington, D.C., 30 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold at a demonstration of 300 people supporting Argentina's right to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

Birmingham socialists report that interest in the war between Britain and Argentina is high. In the past two weeks, 52 copies of the *Militant* have been sold in Jasper, Alabama, a small coal mining community an hour's drive from Birmingham.

Heidi Rose explained that "people are worried that what's going on there can escalate into a bigger war — a nuclear confrontation. People buy our paper because they see it as explaining more about what the facts are and what the real danger is."

Protests against budget cuts

A May Day rally for Jobs and Justice sponsored by the AFL-CIO took place in Ft. Wayne, Indiana. Indianapolis socialists report that supporters of Beth Julien, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Indiana, sold 20 *Militants* to the crowd of 200.

An anti-Reagan action in Salt Lake City on April 24, sponsored by the All-Peoples Con-

gress, drew a crowd of 100. Sara Smith, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, was among the speakers at the rally. Twenty-one copies of the *Militant* were sold there.

The All-Peoples Congress sponsored a national march and rally against Reaganism on May 1 in Washington, D.C. Socialists sold a total of 167 *Militants*, *PMs* and 22 copies of the *Young Socialist* to a crowd of 4,500.

Campaigning for ballot status

Areas of the country that are petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot in the 1982 elections are making good use of special campaign cards that offer people a trial subscription to the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*. To date, 505 cards have been sent in.

Campaigners in Pennsylvania are nearing the end of a giant effort. They have collected 32,600 signatures so far to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

Pittsburgh campaigners sent in close to 250 campaign cards, many of them from steelworkers who signed up outside of one regional unemployment office in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. The office is about 50 yards from U.S. Steel's National Tube works, where Mark Zola, gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is employed. Forty percent of the steelworkers in this area are laid off.

The socialists followed up on this by holding an open house in McKeesport that attracted 11 local residents, including 4 from

Zola's workplace. Co-workers of Zola have also helped him petition outside the plant, collecting 130 signatures in two hours.

'Militant' at McDonnell

Jody Curran is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri. Because of her union activities and prolabor ideas, she is also the target of an intense investigation and harassment campaign by McDonnell Douglas, where she is employed, and by the Defense Investigative Service, a Pentagon antiunion spy agency.

Curran and her campaign supporters have established a weekly campaign sales day at the McDonnell Douglas plant in St. Louis. Eleven copies of the *Militant* were sold to Curran's co-workers last week.

Salvador support on Ore. campus

Portland socialists report increased political activity on campuses and report that sales of the socialist press are brisk.

Twenty-eight *Militants* and 30 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold at a demonstration of 2,000 in support of the freedom fighters in El Salvador that took place at the University of Oregon in Eugene on April 24.

The *Militant's* centerspread on the Middle East sparked special interest among foreign students at Portland State University, with 10 papers sold in 20 minutes.

— SANDI SHERMAN

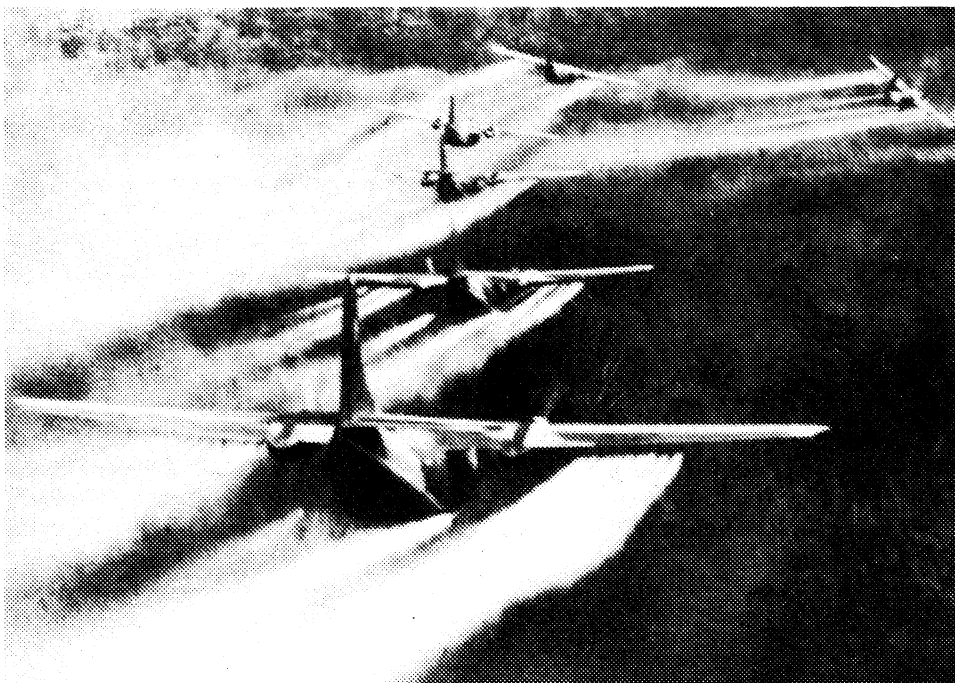
SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #16, PM issue #8)				
Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Phoenix	90/118	45/50	135/168	124
Portland	70/80	0/0	70/80	114
Salt Lake City	90/98	5/10	95/108	114
Birmingham	90/96	0/0	90/96	107
San Antonio	70/80	20/14	90/94	104
New Orleans	85/85	0/2	85/87	102
Indianapolis	75/76	0/0	75/76	101
Piedmont	85/85	0/0	85/85	100
Price	45/45	5/5	50/50	100
Seattle	80/80	3/3	83/83	100
Twin Cities	135/125	5/12	140/137	98
Milwaukee	90/93	10/2	100/95	95
Wash., D.C.*	70/38	20/40	90/78	87
Cleveland	53/38	7/12	60/50	83
Cincinnati	70/57	0/0	70/57	81
Baltimore*	110/87	0/1	110/88	80
Miami	60/50	10/5	70/55	79
St. Louis	90/70	0/0	90/70	78
Schneetady	90/69	0/0	90/69	77
Oakland*	60/45	5/3	65/48	74
Denver	80/54	5/8	85/62	73
Toledo	50/32	0/1	50/33	66
Charleston	50/32	0/0	50/32	64
Tucson	30/29	20/3	50/32	64
Albuquerque	65/45	15/6	80/51	64
Iron Range	50/31	0/0	50/31	62
Newark*	120/67	20/9	140/76	54
San Jose*	60/32	20/11	80/43	54
Atlanta	100/50	0/0	100/50	50
Brooklyn*	140/55	30/26	170/81	48
Chicago	125/38	15/25	140/63	45
San Diego*	50/20	15/0	65/20	31
Dallas	50/14	25/9	75/23	31
Los Angeles	140/33	25/15	165/48	29
Kansas City	105/21	5/2	110/23	21
San Francisco*	100/19	20/3	120/22	18
Morgantown*	110/20	0/0	110/20	18
Harrisburg*	50/8	0/0	50/8	16
Boston*	140/23	10/0	150/23	15
Detroit*	115/11	5/1	120/12	10
TOTALS	4,018/2,149	420/278	4,438/2,427	55

Areas not reporting: Gary, Houston, Lincoln, Louisville, Manhattan*, Philadelphia*, Pittsburgh*, Tidewater*.

*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

The war against Vietnam that never ended



U.S. planes spraying Vietnam with Agent Orange.

BY WILL REISSNER

At 12:15 p.m. on April 30, 1975, soldiers of South Vietnam's National Liberation Front raised the NLF flag over the presidential palace in Saigon. It was an act that symbolized the Vietnamese people's victory in their 35-year armed struggle against foreign domination and for social progress, and it paved the way for the reunification of Vietnam and the establishment of a workers state throughout its territory.

The victory of the peoples of Indochina over the strongest imperialist power in the world was a victory for all humanity. It was a turning point in history that gave encouragement to all the forces fighting for liberation.

But the victory of the Vietnamese people was won at a terrible price, a price they are still paying in their attempts to rebuild and develop their

country, which had been subjected to colonial and imperialist rule since the French conquered Saigon in 1859.

The first U.S. troops were sent to South Vietnam in 1959 by President Eisenhower, and the first American soldier was killed there in July of that year. Before U.S. combat troops were withdrawn in 1973, another 58,654 American soldiers would die in the fighting.

Direct U.S. expenditures in the Indochina war totalled \$168.2 billion. But adding in payments to U.S. veterans and interest on the national debt, the total figure comes to \$479 billion!

More than 3 million U.S. soldiers served in the war zone at one time or another.

The Pentagon dropped more than 14 million tons of bombs and explosive shells on North and South Vietnam be-

tween 1965 and 1972. (During World War II, 160,000 tons were dropped on Japan.)

Another 539,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Kampuchea, and huge amounts on Laos.

U.S. forces also used more than 200,000 tons of napalm — jellied gasoline — against the Vietnamese people.

'Operation Ranch Hand'

The Pentagon waged chemical warfare on the peoples of Indochina on a scale never before seen in human history. Between the time President Kennedy began the chemical warfare program in 1961 and its end in 1971, the Pentagon sprayed 11,266,929 gallons of the chemical defoliant Agent Orange on Vietnam, as well as one-half million gallons on Laos, and an undisclosed amount on Kampuchea. Huge amounts of other chemical defoliants were also dropped on Indochina during the course of the chemical warfare program known as "Operation Ranch Hand."

This chemical poisoning of Indochina has had severe and lasting effects on the region, as well as on the U.S. troops who carried it out.

But the disruption of Vietnamese society was total. In the South, "Operation Ranch Hand" was consciously carried out to drive millions of peasants out of the countryside. E.W. Pfeiffer, a zoologist at the University of Montana, notes in the May 1982 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that it is "clear that both the spray and crop destruction programs were essentially techniques to force peasants from their land into areas where they could be controlled. The idea of generating refugees from Vietcong areas by defoliation gained acceptance early in the war."

In the North, the impact of the bombing was stunning. According to Michael Maclear, who spent considerable time

reporting from North Vietnam during the war, U.S. "bombers had totally destroyed urban life, or anything of brick and mortar, in the provinces below Hanoi. Life here had been reduced to the simplest village level. . . . Only the straw world of the villages, essentially indestructible, could safely be rebuilt."

When the U.S. withdrew its combat troops from Vietnam in early 1973, it promised to provide \$7.5 billion in reconstruction aid to Indochina over a five-year period. Although this was a pittance compared to what Washington had spent on the war, it reneged on the agreement and never provided a penny in reconstruction help.

Instead, Washington continues to wage economic and political warfare against the peoples of Indochina to this very day.

The food embargo

According to a 1981 World Bank report, Vietnam has only 83 percent of the food needed to meet the minimum nutritional requirements for its population to maintain normal activity. Some 20 percent of the children in the country are thought to suffer from some degree of malnutrition.

But Washington, which bears so much of the responsibility for Vietnam's suffering, is intent on making that suffering even worse. In the words of Assistant Secretary of State for Pacific and East Asian Affairs John Holdridge, current U.S. policy aims to make the Vietnamese "feel pain" by applying "maximum political and economic pressure."

To that end, Washington prevailed upon the European Economic Community to stop sending 15,000 tons a year of dried milk, oats, and oil to Vietnam's children's hospitals.

And on April 30, the anniversary of the liberation of Saigon, the United

Continued on Page 17

U.S. war drive and defense of the Soviet Union

BY LARRY SEIGLE

Revolutionary Marxists call for the immediate and unconditional nuclear disarmament of the United States and the other imperialist powers that possess nuclear weapons. This demand is being raised today with considerable force by large numbers of activists in the emerging antiwar movement.

While we demand that Washington unilaterally dismantle its nuclear warheads, however, we do not propose that the Soviet workers state disarm itself in the face of the U.S. thermonuclear arsenal. This has consistently been the position put forward by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

'Bilateral nuclear freeze'

It is the opposite of the stand proposed by strategists of the campaign for a "bilateral nuclear freeze." Promoters of the "bilateral freeze," such as Democratic presidential aspirant Edward Kennedy, oppose the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the United States.

Many working people and antiwar activists in this country have signed "freeze" petitions because they are eager for every opportunity to express their opposition to Washington's war drive, including its nuclear buildup. But the promoters of the "bilateral freeze" have something quite different in mind.

They would make any slowdown or halt in the Pentagon's buildup of nuclear weapons contingent on an agreement with the Soviet government. Their goal is to shift the responsibility for the nuclear war threat onto Moscow and away from Washington, where it belongs. An essential part of this strategy is to channel the developing antiwar movement into support for Democratic Party candidates in the November 1982 elections, and to prepare antiwar forces to support Kennedy, or someone like Kennedy, for president in 1984.

A 1977 article by Joseph Hansen, which we are reprinting on page ISR 2, sheds some light on the working-class approach to the fight for nuclear disarmament and the relationship of this fight to the workers' defense of the Soviet Union.

Interests of world working class

The defense of the Soviet Union and the other workers states against imperialism is a vital part of the defense of the interests of the world working class in its struggle for socialism.

The existence of the Soviet workers state has qualitatively transformed the balance of class forces on a world scale; the survival of the Chinese, Cuban, and Indochinese revolutions owes much to this fact. All these revolutions have received military and economic aid from the Soviet workers state in the face of imperialist efforts to crush them.

Defending the workers states revolves first and foremost around mobilizing the workers and farmers on a world scale to fight for their class interests and to defend those positions that have already been conquered from the enemy. These conquests include the workers states, where capitalism has been abolished.

This perspective includes organizing working people in the United States to carry out the task that we and only we can do: disarming American imperialism and ousting the capitalist class from its position of power. So long as this is not done, the Soviet Union and the other workers states remain in mortal danger.

This is the framework in which moves taken by the Kremlin in the name of defending the Soviet Union must be evaluated by class-conscious workers. The overall policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is to make deals with imperialism at the expense of workers' struggles and the anti-imperialist movement internationally. At the same time, however, the Soviet bureaucracy confronts the imperialists militarily, including with nuclear weapons.

Moves that marginally improve the military position of the Soviet Union at the cost of demobilizing

and disorganizing the international workers' struggle against the imperialist warmakers do not strengthen the defense of the Soviet workers state, militarily or any other way.

1961 nuclear tests

In 1961, when the Soviet Union unilaterally broke a moratorium on above-ground nuclear tests, the *Militant* condemned the move by the Stalinist bureaucracy. It did so because Moscow's move dealt a blow to the genuine forces for peace, while it did nothing to militarily improve the defense capability of the workers state. Its negative effects were to disorient the growing mass sentiment for nuclear disarmament in the capitalist world, while allowing the imperialists to present themselves as the true partisans of peace and disarmament. President John Kennedy immediately utilized the Soviet resumption of testing as an excuse for resuming U.S. tests.

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev justified his move by saying he wanted to "shock" Washington into negotiating a disarmament pact, thus reiterating his belief that the road to peace is to subordinate everything to searching out deals with imperialism.

"But," as the *Militant* observed at the time, "diplomatic agreements with so-called 'peace-loving' or 'progressive' sectors in the imperialist world cannot be relied upon to win world peace."

"The true defense of the Soviet Union and of the advancement of the struggle for peace resides in furthering the worldwide struggle against capitalism, above all in the centers of imperialist power. In the interests of the success of this struggle, revolutionary socialists are duty-bound to protest Khrushchev's arbitrary resumption of the testing of nuclear weapons while they answer Kennedy by opening a new campaign to end the tests."

As Joseph Hansen explains in the article we are reprinting, the defense of the Soviet Union has two sides to it: military and political. Of the two, the political side is the most important by far.

A revolutionary leadership in the Soviet Union would follow a course opposite to that of the current occupants of the Kremlin. It would base its actions on what would advance the struggle of working people throughout the world against capitalism and imperialism.

An example of one policy that such a revolutionary leadership could follow in relation to nuclear weapons is explained by Hansen in the article we are reprinting here.

Carter's proposed nuclear arms reduction

Hansen's article, and the background to it, are of special interest now because of the debate within the antiwar movement over the "freeze" strategy.

When James Carter took office as president at the beginning of 1977, one of his first political moves was to propose to Moscow not a freeze but a nuclear arms reduction. Carter suggested that each side reduce its strategic nuclear delivery systems by 25 percent.

Carter's propaganda glossed over the fact that a mutual reduction of 25 percent in intercontinental delivery devices would not alter the fact that the United States had a 2-1 superiority in strategic bombs and missile warheads.

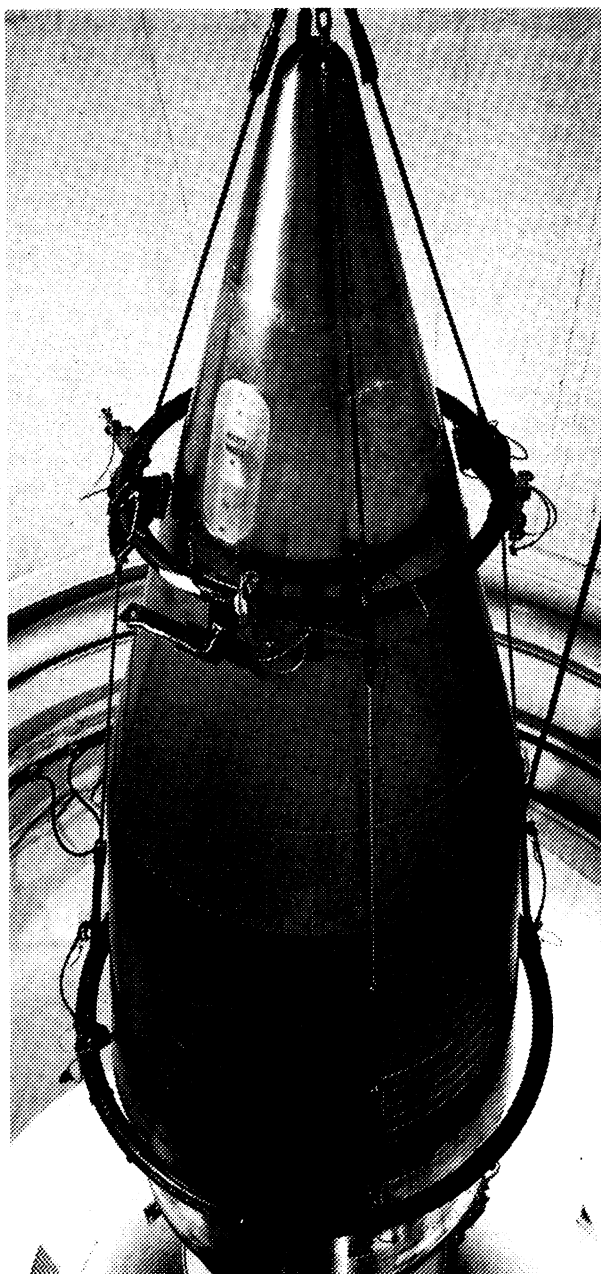
Carter made his move with great public fanfare. The new president claimed to be carrying out "open diplomacy" in contrast to the secrecy that had in the past cloaked nuclear weapons negotiations between Moscow and Washington.

How did Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev parry this Carter propaganda move?

He said, brusquely, "Nyet." Carter's proposal was not fair, and therefore he was rejecting it. No counter-proposal; just "nyet."

Brezhnev also chafed at the "open diplomacy" element of Carter's ploy. The Soviet bureaucrats are accustomed to dealing with the imperialists behind

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Minuteman III nuclear missile

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closed doors, not in front of the world working class.

Of course, Carter's gambit was not an attempt at negotiating a reduction in nuclear weapons at all. It was a political maneuver to shift responsibility for saying "nyet" onto Brezhnev. (The strategists of the "bilateral freeze" would like to see the White House do something along these lines now, to undercut the growing antiwar and antimissiles movement.)

By not making an effective political countermove in 1977, Brezhnev let Carter appear not only as the peacemaker, but also as the advocate of open diplomacy.

Thus, Carter responded immediately to Brezhnev's rejection of his proposal by announcing at a news conference: "Obviously, if we feel at the conclusion of next month's discussions that the Soviets are not acting in good faith with us, and that an agreement is unlikely, then I would be forced to consider a much more deep commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons."

Reactionary columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who had been critical of Carter, gave the new president's maneuver high marks: "President Carter is now solidly entrenched with both congressional conservatives and the Pentagon, without any shaving of his liberal Democratic base. . . . Carter appears to have emerged from the Moscow debacle reinforced politically on all sides.

What Carter won at Moscow

The cynical editors of the London *Economist* remarked on the political advantage Carter had gained as a result of Brezhnev's response:

"By a master stroke of Soviet diplomacy, Mr Brezhnev has now presented himself to the world as the great opponent of disarmament as well as of human rights. He has simultaneously strengthened President Carter's claim — which he is now using in a nose-to-nose chess game — to be the champion of both."

In an article published in the April 15, 1977, issue of the *Militant*, Joseph Hansen suggested that a different policy would have advanced the defense of the Soviet workers state.

The Soviet government, he wrote, "would have done better to make two simple counterproposals:

"1. To conduct all further relations in the open, thus eliminating all secret diplomacy between the two governments.

"2. To begin destroying all nuclear weapons, no matter who has the 'most.' Joint commissions could be placed in charge to allay any suspicions, and other members of the nuclear club ought to be drawn into this work for the cause of peace.

"Of course, no capitalist power has ever engaged in self-disarmament. A genuine challenge would immediately expose the fraudulent nature of Carter's maneuver.

"Another policy could be followed — preferably in combination with the first — namely, abandoning class collaborationism and advancing the proletarian revolution.

"Again, the Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of making such a turn; for it would engender a political revolution at home."

Secret negotiations

In a second article, published in the April 29, 1977, *Militant*, Hansen analyzed Brezhnev's follow-up to his earlier "nyet": an offer of new talks — in secret, of course.

Hansen wrote, "For Carter, who is agile if nothing else, the shift to secret diplomacy came easily. First of all, the State Department is not without experience in proceeding behind closed doors; secondly, the blame for resorting to such ways was neatly fixed on Moscow, with the new president shining as an advocate of aboveboard discussions open to public observation."

As the secret negotiations (which ultimately led to the SALT II treaty proposal) got under way, Hansen observed:

"The tragedy for humanity in this obscene diplomatic jockeying is that no effort at genuine disarmament is involved. Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable of destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their overall death-dealing capacities — the cruise missile, the so-called Backfire bomber, some slight cuts in nuclear weapons. . . .



"The true defense of the Soviet Union and of the advancement of the struggle for peace resides in furthering the worldwide struggle against capitalism." Above, guerrillas of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

"Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles. The hope for peace will remain illusory so long as the imperialist powers and their 'partners' in the Kremlin remain in control. Eventually both will be ousted by insurgent masses committed to socialism. The struggle for this outcome is the one that counts."

One of the *Militant's* readers, Morris Starsky, questioned this last paragraph, which to him was confusing. Starsky's letter and Hansen's reply, reprinted here, were first published in the June 24, 1977, *Militant*.

A letter on the defense of the Soviet Union

In an otherwise clear and well-argued article by Joseph Hansen ("Washington & Moscow return to secrecy in disarmament talks," *Militant*, April 29, 1977), there is a very confusing passage. At least I am confused by it.

The passage says, "Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable of destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their overall death-dealing capacities. . . . Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament "a plague on both your houses"? Let me make my question clear by stating several opinions I hold and asking writer Hansen to comment on them.

A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.

The Soviet Union has indeed the *concrete need* to arm itself fully within the limits of its resources in defense of its existence.

The United States has not and cannot abandon its long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Although the motives of the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union are counterrevolutionary through and through, and their use of the Soviet Union's military might is premised on the policy of "peaceful coexistence" (class collaboration), the *blame* for both the arms race and the failure of any meaningful disarmament talks must fall squarely on the shoulders of U.S. imperialism.

Morris Starsky

Comments by Joseph Hansen

The question goes deeper than agreeing that the *blame* for the arms race and the failure of meaningful disarmament talks falls on U.S. imperialism. The capitalist system is expansionist and aggressive because of its insatiable thirst for profits, whereas no such compulsion operates in a planned economy. However, the question remains — in assigning *blame* should the Kremlin go scot-free?

Let us recall that Stalin showed in practice how little the bureaucratic caste can be relied upon in organizing the defense of the Soviet Union. Stalin in fact paved the way for Hitler.

Let us pursue this line of thought further. The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack. It has sought to make that defense as effective as possible. On that premise it has never defended the parasitism or the special privileges seized by the bureaucracy. What the Trotskyists have defended is the proletarian basis of the workers state (expropriation of private property in the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, economic planning). This has meant *opposing the bureaucracy*, which explains why the Trotskyists are so feared and so savagely persecuted by the Kremlin.

Political and military defense

The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political* and *military*. Of these the political is the more important by far.

However, let us consider the military defense first, since this is the predominant level in the current SALT talks and in the bourgeois estimates of the meaning of these talks.

On the issue of nuclear bombs, what constitutes an adequate number? It appears to me that a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity *once* marks a natural quantitative limit so far as use values are concerned.

This natural limit on military needs might be designated Armageddon One.

In the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, a process that is being advanced at a truly American pace, Armageddon One offers possibilities as the point that rational beings might select for converting quality into quantity; that is, reducing the number of bombs in consonance with their rise in destructiveness. Under this sliding scale, the total death-dealing capability of each side would remain constant. Neither state could go above Armageddon One without violating the contract.

The logical end of the nuclear arms race would thus be possession by each side of a single device capable of achieving Armageddon One no matter where it was exploded.

But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings at once. Both have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over. The figure may be hundreds of times over to believe some estimates.

Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. "Military defense" has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable — its extinction.

To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accurate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged.

Now let us turn to the political defense of the workers states. This means above all mobilizing popular support.

Among the poverty-stricken masses of the world, the Soviet Union is still favored against the imperialist powers. This precious asset stems from the fact that the Soviet Union originated in a revolution that overthrew capitalist property forms, enabling backward Russia to advance to the status of the second-strongest world power in a matter of decades. The victory over the German imperialist invasion in the Second World War enhanced this favorable image in the eyes of the masses.

The best possible defense of the Soviet Union (and of the other workers states) is to further establish the superiority of planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism, and to demonstrate its inherent capacity to expand democracy in a way never experienced un-

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Leon Trotsky on how a bureaucracy thinks

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Following the death of Lenin, Leon Trotsky sought to preserve the continuity of his work and not let the program and strategy of Bolshevism be derailed. Trotsky picked up where Lenin left off in the fight against the growing bureaucratism in the Soviet Union, especially in Lenin's efforts to expand the participation of the working class in administering their state at all levels.

In the course of carrying out this political fight, Trotsky became the most prominent leader of the current inside the Soviet Communist Party that constituted a Bolshevik-Leninist opposition to the rising bureaucracy headed by Stalin.

When Pathfinder Press decided to publish a selection of writings and speeches by Trotsky from this period before his forced exile to Turkey, a review was made of previously untranslated and unpublished material in the "open section" of the Trotsky archives at the Harvard University Library. Among the manuscripts found in these archives, long left unutilized, was a previously unknown (and unfortunately unfinished) one entitled "Philosophical Tendencies of Bureaucratism."

This essay was written during 1928-29, after Trotsky had been exiled to Alma Ata in the western reaches of the USSR. Trotsky then had the enforced leisure to ponder the special characteristics of the bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin that was consolidating its political power in the Soviet Union and becoming what Trotsky would later analyze as a hardened, petty-bourgeois social caste. This piece, translated by George Saunders, appears for the first time in the third volume of *Challenge of the Left Opposition*, published last year by Pathfinder Press.

The article is a remarkable example of the application of historical materialism to the analysis of the ideological dimension of a new sociological and political phenomenon that confronted the working class. It is noteworthy in another respect, as well. In the course of his polemic against the Stalinist revisions of Marxism, Trotsky set forth much of the core of what was to be his mature views on the Marxist method and nature of Leninism — views that found their culmination a decade later in another polemic, *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky's last writings before his assassination at the hands of Stalin's political police.

Characteristics of a bureaucracy

Unlike the slaveholders, feudal lords, or capitalists, the bureaucracy of a deformed or degenerated workers state such as the Soviet Union today is not an independent social force necessary to the mode of production; it subserves the fundamental classes. Yet, as organized and centralized administrators of the government and economic and social institutions, it occupies a powerful and privileged place separated from the oppressed and exploited. Since existence determines consciousness, its awareness of the special consumption privileges accruing from its position becomes central. This, plus its habits of administration and command, inevitably mold its entire way of thinking.

It is common to refer to bureaucratic habits of thought. Such traits are not confined to the mode of speaking and writing by government departments and personnel, however. They mark the most general areas of social thought. Historians of philosophy have dealt with many different schools of thought, ancient and modern, major and minor, episodic and enduring, from skepticism and epicureanism through nominalism to empiricism and contemporary existentialism; and they have related these types of thought to social layers that they reflect and affect in the mode of production of that day. But almost none of them have traced the strand of bureaucratic thought from antiquity down through the ages.

Trotsky set out to demonstrate how the degenerative processes that were transforming the Bolshevik Party from a revolutionary vanguard of the working class into a component of a privileged, petty-bourgeois caste asserted themselves not only as a social force in the party, trade unions, and the state apparatus, but also in the domain of political theory and thought.

Here we are dealing with two separate but interrelated sets of characteristics: those peculiar to a privi-



Leon Trotsky

leged bureaucracy that serves to defend, although in a conservative and ultimately self-destructive fashion, the state property of a workers state; and those belonging to any bureaucracy, regardless of the social and economic foundations of the state of which it is part.

The theory of factors

The leading figures of the Soviet bureaucracy paraded without justification as masters of Marxism. But dialectical materialism is a monistic theory, not a dualistic or pluralistic one. It maintains that while the main divisions of reality — nature, society, and thought — each have their own features and operate according to their particular laws, they coexist and interact as an evolving contradictory unity, with each of the higher forms part of and ultimately subordinate to the lower. It is possible and often necessary to consider one or another sector or element of the whole apart from its evolution and internal connections with the rest of the world. But it must be kept in mind that this isolating process of examination and analysis provides no more than a partial and fragmentary view. An all-sided approach, treating the history and structure of a phenomenon, is essential to fully understand it.

In contradistinction to this dialectical method, which recognizes that the "truth resides in the whole," a bureaucracy tends to favor the theory of multiple causality that fractures the social formation, and correspondingly the rest of the world, into self-contained and self-sufficient entities that can be "defined" and "administered." These autonomous de-

partments, each ruling its own domain, primarily enter into external associations with one another. Each of the given factors, whether economics, politics, law, morality, aesthetics, or religion, is endowed with its own inherent powers to govern the facts within its jurisdiction, much like a bureaucrat.

The question then arises: which of these various factors is predominant over the rest? Whatever choice is made by the different schools of thought, the need persists for a supreme regulator. "If in politics bureaucratism requires a tsar or dictator, however poor in quality, then in theory the pluralism of factors requires a god, however lightweight that divinity may be" to superintend the subordinate factors, Trotsky observes.

The theory of factors is not the creation of the bureaucracy. It unconsciously appropriates and puts to its own uses a metaphysical mode of thinking characteristic of much philosophical and scientific thinking before the formulation of dialectical materialism by Marx and Engels. Moreover, dialectical materialists do not reject the theory of factors outright as an initial means of analyzing and classifying phenomena. It was historically necessary in the development of human knowledge in arriving at an understanding of reality piece by piece. It remains indispensable to science as an initial and interim approach. But it is valid only within limits.

This inferior mode of thinking is congenial not only to backsliders from Marxism but also to intellectual layers that reject Marxism. The conception of a plurality of factors in the manner of Max Weber is today the most widely held method in academic sociology. For instance, so acute a radical social thinker as C. Wright Mills adhered to it. In his works such as *The Power Elite*, Mills divided the summits of American capitalist society into independent institutions, the political, military, and economic elites, any one of which could be the paramount force in national life at a particular point in its evolution. He thereby failed to grasp the political economy of contemporary capitalism as an integrated whole dominated by a ruling class that owns the giant corporations and banks and manipulates both political parties and the Pentagon in obedience to its class interests.

Stalin's 'theorizing'

Trotsky had learned the defects and limits of the multiple-factor approach during his apprenticeship to Marxism, first from the "old Italian Hegelian-Marxist, Antonio Labriola," as Trotsky explains in his autobiography, and later from Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, and Mehring, his mentors in this field. Thus, the pervasive presence of the multiple-factor approach in Stalin's "theorizing" was for Trotsky a striking index of the ideological retreat of the bureaucracy.

The Soviet bureaucracy's departure from Marxism was conspicuous in its metaphysical notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For a Marxist, this form of rulership expresses an organized correlation between class forces in a given country that undergoes shifts in the course of its development — that is, the organized repression and expropriation of the old ruling classes and their agents by the proletariat, a state that gradually withers away as the old ruling classes are dispossessed, weakened, and disappear on a world scale. For the bureaucratic mentality, however, the dictatorship of the proletariat was seen as an autonomous factor, that of administrators elevated above actual and changing class relations and alliances. This self-sufficient principle provided an ideological cover for the domination of the bureaucracy over the proletariat.

This attitude can be seen at work in Poland, where the Stalinist officialdom acts as though it had a god-given right to lord it over the vast majority of workers who had organized Solidarity; the Kremlin bureaucrats backing them proceed in line with the same belief. These bureaucratic misleaders pursue stability at home and on a world scale, not only because this makes it possible to administer "more efficiently," but above all because they want nothing to rock the boat and undermine their enjoyment of privileges in consumption. The parasitic bureaucracy subordinates the whole of the world revolution to the defense

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of its base on top of the Soviet workers state. The class-collaborationist policies applied in furtherance of its narrow caste privileges undermine and ultimately threaten the existence of state property itself.

In marked contrast, the revolutionary leadership of the Cuban workers state has led the organization of the Cuban proletariat's growing involvement in running the state and combating inevitable inroads of bureaucratism. To this end, it has promoted the mobilization and organization of the Cuban proletariat and peasantry and the strengthening of their class consciousness and internationalism. The Cuban leadership subordinates stability, "efficiency," and ultimately even the survival of the Cuban workers state itself to the interests of the world revolution and its extension. It is the *whole* of the world revolution, not simply the Cuban *part*, that determines the broad outlines of its activity on an international scale.

Theory and practice

In Stalin's well-known work *Problems of Leninism*, which became the New Testament of the bureaucracy, he covertly polemicized against Trotsky's assertion that "Leninism is Marxism in action" in our epoch. Stalin twisted this formulation to mean that the practical implementation of Marxism entailed a disregard for theory as such. In reality the interplay of theory and practice is a complex affair in which theory, born and bred by practice, can at times outrun and anticipate it, even while remaining as a whole subordinate to it.

The primacy of practice over theory is a cardinal principle of dialectical materialism. "Practice," Trotsky stated, "has the same indisputable primacy over theory as being over consciousness, matter over spirit, and the whole over the part. For theory arises out of practice, engendered by practical needs, and constitutes a more or less incomplete or imperfect generalization upon practice."

The insufficiency of empiricism, which like dialectical materialism also appeals to practice as the highest criterion of truth, lies in its shortsighted, superficial and ahistorical conception of practice. "To be guided by theory is to be guided by generalizations based on all the preceding practical experience of humanity in order to cope as successfully as possible with one or another practical problem of the present day. Thus, through theory we discover precisely the primacy of practice-as-a-whole over particular aspects of practice."

Against Trotsky's dialectical formulation, Stalin proposed the following definition: "Leninism is the Marxism of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. More exactly Leninism is the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution in general and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." This became an unchallengeable central dogma in the teachings of the Stalinist school during and even after the lifetime of the dictator.

In order to expose the errors of this dogma, Trotsky was impelled to restate what the essential components of Marxist thought were. He singled out materialist dialectics, historical materialism, and the critical analysis of the laws of motion of the capitalist mode of production as the basic foundations on which are built the political strategy and tactics of the vanguard of the proletariat. These three elements constitute a systematic and integrated theoretical whole, proceeding from the dialectics of nature to the lawful evolution of human society at a particular stage of its development.

Dialectical logic

Quite a few semi-Marxists nowadays dismiss dialectics as a hangover from Hegelian idealism, as worthless a vestige in the embryology of Marxism as the veriform appendix in the human organism (and



"It is the *whole* of the world revolution, not simply the Cuban *part*, that determines the broad outlines of the Cuban leadership's activity on an international scale." Billboard in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución reads, "Create two, three, many Vietnams."

occasionally as dangerous). Trotsky was a staunch and uncompromising defender of dialectics. He pointed out that Marx was not its originator and never claimed to be; Marx rescued this logical method from its captivity to idealism.

Dialectics itself, Trotsky explained, has had a dialectical development. From the Greeks to Marx, it became transformed into its opposite. When cognitive thought originally extracted laws of dialectics from matter in motion, it spontaneously attributed dialectics to itself. Hegel, who went farthest in perfecting dialectics in its idealist version, went wrong "in making dialectics into an imminent attribute of the Absolute Spirit. But he was right that dialectics holds sway in all processes of the universe, including human society."

In recognizing the universal scope of dialectics, Trotsky opposed those proponents of the praxis school who insist on restricting its applicability to human history and society and reject the dialectics of nature. "Basing himself on all preceding materialist philosophy and on the unconscious materialism of the natural sciences, Marx led dialectics out of the barren wastelands of idealism and turned its face toward matter, its mother. It is in this sense that dialectics, restored to its rights by Marx and materialized by him, constitutes the foundation of the Marxist view of the world, the fundamental method of Marxist analysis."

This logic proved its inestimable value in the creation of historical materialism. Just as Darwin applied materialist dialectics in an empirical way to the evolution of the organic world in all its multiplicity and variety, so historical materialism represents the conscious application of this method to a distinctive level of organization of the world, the structure of human society and its development.

"The immediate practical importance of historical

materialism is at this time immeasurably greater [than Darwinism], since for the first time it provides the vanguard class with the opportunity of approaching the question of human destiny in a fully conscious way. Only the full victory of historical materialism in practice — that is, the establishment of a technically and scientifically powerful socialist society — will open up the practical possibility of a thorough application of the laws of Darwinism to the human species itself, with the aim of modifying or overcoming the biological contradictions lodged in human beings." It may be said that the immense advances of biochemistry and genetics herald this development.

'Pure economics is a fiction'

Marx systematized the laws of motion of the capitalist economy in his great work *Capital*. Following Plekhanov, Trotsky said that "*Capital* is the application of historical materialism to the realm of human economics at a particular stage of its development, just as historical materialism as a whole is an application of materialist dialectics to the realm of human history."

The problem of the relation between the economic foundations of society and the other realms of human endeavor has called forth much controversy, a great deal of it fruitless. The matter can best be clarified if it is approached as a process from a historical standpoint, as Trotsky does. "The historical and theoretical economics of Marx shows that the development of the productive forces at a definite, exactly describable phase destroys certain economic forms with other forms and in the process disrupts law, morals, views, beliefs; it shows also that the introduction of a system of productive forces of a new and higher type creates for its own needs — always through people, through the agency of human beings — new social, legal, political, and all other norms, in the framework of which this stage provides itself with the dynamic equilibrium it requires. Thus, pure economics is a fiction."

While Marx's analysis focuses on the economic forms of the capitalist system, its categories reach all the way down to the substratum of nature on the one side and are linked with the higher forms of human activity and expression on the other. "Throughout the length and breadth of Marx's study [of capital] he points out with full clarity the connecting belts, gear-wheels, and other transmitting mechanisms leading downward from the economic relations to the productive forces and to nature itself, to the earth's crust, of which human beings are a product; but also leading upward, toward the so-called superstructural apparatuses and ideological forms which have always drawn their nourishment from economics. All people eat bread; most prefer it with butter. In other words there is constant interaction between the economy and the superstructure."

The relatively brief historical writings of Marx and Engels on the revolutionary crises in 19th-century Germany and France "are brilliant illustrations rather than exhaustive applications of the doctrine of historical materialism." In the thousands of pages of *Capital*, "one of the most accomplished products of cognitive thought in human history," Marx is able to display the full power of his dialectical method.

Marxism is a historical product and does not pretend to be an absolute, fast-frozen system. Since the time of Marx and Engels, the laws of motion of capitalism presented in *Capital* have had to be applied to new stages of concentration and centralization of capital in production, circulation, and credit, closer relations between banks and industry, and the monopolistic organization and dominance of finance capital.

Nonetheless, Marxism as a world outlook has yet to be transcended and superseded by a superior one. "Only a conscious application of materialist dialectics to all fields of science can and will prepare the elements necessary for the transcending of Marxism, which dialectically will at the same time be the triumph of Marxism. From the seed grows a stalk upon which a new head of wheat grows at the cost of the death of the seed grain." And that depends on the victory of communism on a world scale.

A premature leap

Trotsky discounted Bukharin's treatise on historical materialism as an eclectic and scholastic treatment of the subject. He also made a rare allusion to *History and Class Consciousness*; the celebrated compilation of essays by Georg Lukács, which subsequently exercised so disorienting an influence over radical intellectuals of the West.



Further reading by Leon Trotsky

Challenge of the Left Opposition

Vol. 1 (1923-25): 428 pp., \$8.95

Vol. 2 (1926-27): 548 pp., \$8.95

Vol. 3 (1928-29): 436 pp., \$8.95

In Defense of Marxism

221 pp., \$4.95

The Revolution Betrayed

314 pp., \$5.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014. Please include 75 cents postage and handling.

"Lukács made a more audacious attempt in principle to go beyond historical materialism. He ventured to announce that beginning with the October Revolution, which represented the leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom, historical materialism had outlived itself and had ceased to be adequate to the age of proletarian revolutions. However, together with Lenin we had a good laugh over this new discovery, which was, to say the least, premature." Trotsky notes that Lukács himself later repudiated this theory.

A special kind of Marxism?

Stalin's definition of Leninism misrepresented it in two ways. Leninism was made out to be a special kind of Marxism peculiar to the age of imperialism, and as such a more revolutionary theory than the work of Marx. Neither contention could hold water.

If no new materialist dialectics, no new historical materialism, and no new theory of value — the three principal elements constituting the essential foundation of Marxist political strategy and tactics — have been brought forward for "the age of imperialism," then how can it be regarded as a distinctive and higher type of revolutionary doctrine? Lenin himself never thought of his work in this light. "One can only imagine the juicy epithets with which Lenin would have awarded the authors of such an assertion," comments Trotsky.

By declaring Leninism a special category of Marxism, Stalin sought to buttress his own newly-discovered "theory" of building socialism in a single country. This reactionary idea broke with the principles of Marxism and the continuity of Bolshevism. It severed the organic connection between the Russian revolution and the international character of the socialist revolution. The bureaucratic urge to cut the umbilical cord binding the Soviet republic and the world revolution "arose out of the existing conditions and developments, out of the defeats of the international revolution and the domestic pressure from native proprietary tendencies," says Trotsky.

Stalin's second point, that Leninism is a "theory of the proletarian revolution in general," likewise unjustifiably counterposes Leninist theory to Marxism. What is the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 if not the imperishable charter of "the proletarian revolution in general"?

Nor is Leninism "the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular," as Stalin claimed. Marx and Engels formulated the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat from their experiences and from the political lessons they drew from the 1848 revolutions in Germany and France. Their recognition then that the old state machine cannot be reformed but must be smashed and replaced was explicitly confirmed more than two decades later by the Paris Commune. What Lenin did, on the eve of the victorious October 1917 revolution in his pamphlet *State and Revolution*, was to pull together the writings of Marx and Engels on the state and bring up to date their application to the problems and polemics spurred by new events. Following October, of course, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had the first opportunity to make contributions to the *practice* of the proletarian dictatorship, and thus to enrich the theory.

Age of proletarian revolution

It is a fact that Marx was active in the 19th century and not, like Lenin, in the 20th century. "But surely the essence of all of Marx and Engels's activity was that they theoretically anticipated and prepared the way for the age of proletarian revolution. If this is set aside, we end up with nothing but academic Marxism, that is, the most repulsive caricature. The full importance of Marx's work becomes evident from the fact that the age of proletarian revolution, which arrived later than he and Engels had expected, did not require any revision of Marxism but on the contrary required its purification from the rust of epigonism which had developed in the meantime. But Stalin would have it that Marxism, unlike Leninism, was the theoretical reflection of a nonrevolutionary period."

Stalin's definition of Leninism contradicted the fundamental Marxist insight that "theory — genuine theory or theory on a large scale — does not at all take shape in *direct* connection with the practical tasks of the day. Rather it is the consolidation and generalization of all human practical activity and experience, embracing different historical periods in their materially determined sequence. It is only because theory is not inseparably linked with the practical tasks contemporary to it, but rises above them, that it has the gift of seeing ahead, that is, is able to prepare to link itself with future practical activity



Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin. "Stalin's definition of Leninism misrepresented it in two ways. Leninism was made out to be a special kind of Marxism peculiar to the age of imperialism, and as such a more revolutionary theory than the work of Marx."

and to train people who will be equal to future practical tasks.

"The theory of Marx raised itself like a giant watchtower above the revolutionary practical work of the Lassalleans contemporary to Marx, just as it did above the practical activity of all the organizations of the First International. The Second International assimilated only a few elements of Marxism for its own practical needs, by no means always the most essential. Only the age of historical catastrophes extending throughout the capitalist system opened up the possibility of putting into practice the fundamental conclusions of Marxism. It was only this point that made people more receptive — and not all people, not by far — to an understanding of Marxism as a whole."

Is Marxism outmoded?

Stalin's thesis about a prerevolutionary theory of Marxism as contrasted with a revolutionary theory of Leninism would logically lead to the abandonment of Marxism as outlived. If Leninism is "more revolutionary," as Stalin contended, why continue to cling to and study the obsolete original ideas of Marx and Engels? That would be as senseless as a chemist adhering to the phlogiston theory once it had been surpassed.

In the sphere of practical revolutionary activity and its results, though not in theory, principles and fundamental strategy, the activity of Lenin — what Trotsky called his "titanic work" — differed from that of Marx, Engels, and their earlier disciples, in the same way the age of Lenin differs from that of Marx.

"The revolutionary leader Marx lived and died as theoretical adviser to the young parties of the proletariat and as the herald of its future decisive battles.

Lenin led the proletariat to the conquest of power, made that victory secure through his leadership, and provided leadership to the first workers' state in the history of humanity and to an International whose immediate task is to bring about the worldwide dictatorship of the proletariat. The titanic work of this supreme revolutionary strategist can with full justification be placed on the same high level as the work of the supreme titan of proletarian theory."

Marx and Lenin both combined theoretical with practical work. "Marx created not only theory but also an International. Lenin not only led a great revolution but also did important theoretical work." In comparing the two men, Trotsky rated the theoretical achievements of Marx above his practical revolutionary activity, important as that was. "He rises immeasurably higher . . . by having created the theoretical

“ Lenin did not create a theory of Leninism. He applied the theory of Marxism to the revolutionary tasks of the new historical era. ”

basis for all the subsequent practical activity of Lenin and a number of generations yet to come."

On the other hand, Lenin's theoretical work had an essentially auxiliary character in relation to his revolutionary activity. "Lenin did not create a theory of Leninism. He applied the theory of Marxism to the revolutionary tasks of the new historical era." Lenin's practice made full use of Marxist theory for the first time in history by leading the working class to take power and hold it. "It is along this line that the two great historical figures should be weighed," Trotsky concluded, and not by singling out Leninism as an independent theory of a more revolutionary stamp, as Stalin did.

Revolutionary proletarian politicians

It is indispensable to keep in mind that *both* Marx and Lenin were, in their most fundamental being, scientific, revolutionary, proletarian *politicians*.

Marx "was before all else a revolutionist," Engels said in his 1883 speech at Marx's graveside. "His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and success such as few could rival."

Can it be said that the opportunistic Soviet bureaucracy, which is certainly shortsighted and subsists on a low theoretical level, has a theoretical attitude of its own? The most empirical sort of activity has a rationale lodged within it that analysis can bring to light. Every significant social layer and its political current create, select, adapt, and apply a set of general ideas and a world outlook that conform to their situation and the interests of their members and promotes their needs, activities, and objectives.

Thus in their time the German thinkers Marx and Engels elaborated dialectical materialism as the method of scientific socialism that has served as a reliable guide for the discovery of the strategy of the proletarian movement's line of march toward power.

When the Soviet bureaucracy crushed workers democracy and detached itself from the perspectives and then the program of world revolution, it was blindly driven, in pursuit of its own privileged, parasitic interests and narrow aims, to undermine and discard basic principles of the method and system of Marxism, while proclaiming to be its most loyal interpreter. It improvised in its stead, as Trotsky noted, "an eclectic mixture of poorly digested fragments of Marxism, Menshevism and Narodism."

This distorted version of what claims to be Marxist thought, enforced by the state authorities, has misled and misled its disciples for more than half a century. In laying bare its origins and nature, Trotsky showed how little in common the Stalinist ideology had with the authentic teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. And how essential it is for revolutionary workers today, if they are to succeed in leading the toilers to overthrow world capitalism and its attendant horrors, to recapture these authentic teachings that represent the wellspring of revolutionary continuity in our epoch.

The role of women in today's Kampuchea

"Women in Today's Cambodia," by Chanthou Boua, *New Left Review*, no. 131, January-February, 1982.

Kampuchea 1981: Eyewitness Reports, by Nguyen Khac Vien and Françoise Corréze, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi. Available from the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, 135 West 4th Street, New York, New York 10012.

BY DIANE WANG

During the Pol Pot regime's reign of terror from 1975-1979, as many as 3 million of Kampuchea's 7 million people died or were executed. Consequently, women comprise as much as two-thirds of the population in some areas and at least 55 percent of the overall population. Tens of thousands of widows are struggling to raise families with four or five children.

Chanthou Boua, a Kampuchean, returned to her country in 1980 to work with an international aid agency for eight months. After another visit in 1981 she compiled her report on the role of women in rebuilding Kampuchea. The report is not only a graphic description of women's plight, but a summary of the progress made in the country and the complex, material problems faced over the last three years.

Despite their large majority in the population, women have not assumed a leading role in the reconstruction. Boua explains this as due in part to the "lack of a forceful policy of promoting women" but points out the more significant factors involved:

"There is the trained modesty among Khmer women which has its roots many centuries back. There is also, of course, the widespread chauvinism of Khmer men. Besides these strong traditional pressures, the traumas of the Pol Pot period have deeply alienated many women from society. Now, much more frequently than before, one can hear women saying that they hate being alive or that they live just for the sake of their children.

"The experience of the Pol Pot period somehow seems to have affected women *more* than men (although fewer of the latter survived), and it takes women longer to recover and to realize that they could make a valuable contribution to the rebuilding of society."

The biggest factor holding back women, which Boua describes, is the country's poverty. Struggling back from the edge of famine, putting an economy back together piece by piece, Kampuchea has lacked resources for the child-care centers and training that women need.

Women in agriculture and trade

The majority of women, as the majority of the Kampuchean people, are engaged in agricultural production. For many this means work from 4 or 5 a.m. until sunset, with an evening of cooking and household chores. Harsh as this seems, the working hours are much shorter now than under Pol Pot. And today people have more food than the near-starvation rations allowed then, when one can of rice fed 5 to 10 people.

The government has organized villagers into solidarity groups of 5 to 20 families to ensure that work animals, tools, and manpower are equitably distributed. Boua reports that peasants initially were suspicious of these solidarity groups. But after the success of the 1980 harvest most accepted the system.

In addition, peasants are allowed private plots where they grow food to supplement the family's supply or to sell on the market.

In the cities nearly all the market people are women, selling vegetables, noodles, rice porridge, or other goods. The women line the streets, sitting for long days, often with their children alongside. Boua reports:

"There are some unfortunate days, when they cannot sell any of their goods, so life is very unstable for them. . . . Many of them complain about the lack of opportunities to earn a living any other way. They cannot get a job with the government because they lack certain skills or because they cannot interrupt their business activities (and therefore their income) for the two or three month period required for training."

Education a big challenge

Women who work for the government have the advantage of free housing, access to rations at fixed



Kampuchean women (top) celebrating January 1979 liberation of Phnom Penh from Pol Pot forces, and (bottom) with member of Vietnamese army.

prices, and regular hours on a six-day workweek, but they receive low salaries. To become nurses, teachers, office workers or factory workers, women take one- to three-month training courses.

The shortage of men has meant a new reliance on women. Boua writes that "in the factories women have assumed many jobs — including the heaviest and hardest — which were formerly reserved for men. Women are found working at every level of factory production, except in management where they are still conspicuously absent. Women who have no one to mind their children are allowed to bring them to the factory."

Education is one of the main challenges facing the country. The system organized by the French colonial rulers never served Kampuchea's needs. What schools did exist were destroyed during the years of war and Pol Pot.

Boua reports:

"Yet, despite the lack of the most basic materials, the schools started to reopen almost spontaneously in the first weeks after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in early 1979. From the beginning there was a spirit of seeking a fresh start in education, with the aim of building a new school system more attuned to Cambodian needs.

At the same time the government has proclaimed the goal of expanding education into a democratic and comprehensive system embracing all people, including children, the elderly, ethnic minorities and the inhabitants of remote areas previously unprovided with schools."

Because so many of the skilled and technical workers died under Pol Pot, vocational training is a priority.

Literacy campaign and health care

The highest educational priority is literacy. Adult education classes have been launched in villages throughout Kampuchea. More than 200,000 people have enrolled in classes lasting one or two hours, three or four evenings a week. Boua reports that 70 percent are female and 40 percent are over the age of 20.

In the field of medical care, Boua explains that contraception hardly exists in Kampuchea, and abortions are both dangerous and expensive.

On the other hand, Boua reports, "Official maternity care is both inexpensive and relatively egalitarian."

Boua concludes that women in Kampuchea face a paradoxical situation. "Women have been victimized by the consequences of the Pol Pot regime. Instead of being given special help even more is being demanded of them; especially of the younger, mature generation between twenty-five and forty. Yet none would exchange the pains of life today for the solution imposed by the Pol Pot regime itself from 1975 to 1979."

Issue of Vietnam's role

In an introduction to Chanthou Boua's article, the editors of *New Left Review* note that, "Perhaps the issue which has caused sharpest dissent has been the Vietnamese intervention [in Kampuchea] itself." The editors assert, however, that "the weight of evidence in Indochina points to the conclusion that the bulk of the Cambodian people welcomed the Vietnamese overthrow of Pol Pot. . . . To condemn the actual Vietnamese invasion of 1979 conflicts with what appears to be the reaction of most Cambodians themselves."

One example of the close relationship growing between Vietnam and Kampuchea since 1979 is *Kampuchea 1981: Eyewitness Reports* put out by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Hanoi. This progress report on Kampuchea's recovery includes both discussions with Kampucheans and statistical information.

Among other things, *Eyewitness Reports* describes how the new government in Kampuchea had to carefully approach agrarian policy:

"The village production groups set up in 1979 consisted of 40 to 50 families at first but by 1980 they had shrunk to only 10 to 15 households. This was due both to new national policies and a spontaneous readjustment from the grass-roots. Indeed it is impossible to manage large groups when most cadres do not know how to keep accounts.

The agricultural production groups were formed as the peasants returned to their villages, in order to help one another out, and also as a national policy to lay the basis for future socialist development. The decrees issued in August 1980 wisely reserve an adequate plot of land for each individual family.

"In the fields of agriculture and handicraft production, one can rely on private initiative," the report explains, "and the authorities are wise enough to encourage it. As far as industrial development is concerned, the State will have to take on the entire production process since no private firm has survived the catastrophe.

"More than in any other country, the State will play a crucial role in economic and social development."

Vietnam's struggle for peace & economic survival

The following message by Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, deputy representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, was sent to a May 1 Conference on Reconciliation with Vietnam held at Princeton University on the seventh anniversary of the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism.

Madame Dung had been invited to speak to the conference. However, the U.S. State Department refused her permission to attend. Representatives to the United Nations cannot go beyond a 25-mile radius from the UN without the U.S. government's consent.

Protests against this attack on the Vietnamese revolution and on the American people's right to know the truth about Vietnam should be sent to the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C.

Dear friends,

Reconciliation is goodwill to overcome differences and build up friendship.

Your attempt to open a forum on reconciliation with Vietnam deeply moves me. Thank you very much for inviting me to address you.

In the last two decades, the United States and Vietnam were at war, which left losses on both sides. Despite the fact that relations are not yet normalized, our two peoples want reconciliation, normalization of relations, and friendship.

It should be recalled that even during the war years, an important section of the American people worked together with the Vietnamese people for a common goal — to put an end to that war. Many people here worked tirelessly, contributed their precious time, resources, and even their lives. Through their resolute action, American housewives, nuns, students, intellectuals, businessmen, workers and other people were finally successful and literally halted the war carnage.

It was exactly seven years ago today that the people in Vietnam and the United States happily welcomed their common achievement — the war was brought to an end.

In recalling this history, I want to say that reconciliation has been on our agenda quite a long time. It dates back to the early 1960s, when the war got under way. We, the Vietnamese, will always remember the U.S. antiwar movement as helping build friendship between us. It was your antiwar activists that helped strengthen our trust in the American people's love for freedom and justice.

That trust was demonstrated in the very first sentence of the Proclamation of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, read to the world by President Ho Chi Minh 37 years ago. I am sure many of you know that historic statement, which reads:

"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

"The immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the USA in 1776. In a broader sense, this means all the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the people have the right to live, to be happy and free."

Nothing can testify more vividly to the belief of the leaders and people of Vietnam in the values which we share with the American people. This has been a solid basis for reconciliation in the past, at present, and in the future — for our common efforts to bring about peace in the world.

Situation in Vietnam today

Seven years after the war, what is the situation in Vietnam today? Those who had been enraged by the failure to strangle Vietnam by force are painting an extremely bleak picture of Vietnam: a crippled economy, human rights violations, endless exodus of refugees, invasion of Kampuchea, so on and so forth.

The Vietnamese felt that life would be simply wonderful when the war was over, when bombings, shellings, killings were stopped. Peace would have a lot to offer: family reunion, rebuilding houses, education, and recreation.

Naturally peace was invaluable. But it also meant a lot of problems to solve, some of which were beyond all predictions. It was the first time in nearly 100 years that Vietnam completely regained its independence, that the dream for which generations had laid down their lives came true.

But it was also true that Vietnam inherited a legacy of havoc and destruction from 14 million tons of



Militant/Lou Howort
Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Vietnam's deputy representative to the United Nations, at May 1981 New York rally in solidarity with Vietnam and El Salvador.

bombs and shells — seven times the amount of ammunition used in the Second World War.

Having reunified the country after more than 20 years of partition was a historic and important success. But then the questions became how to incorporate in the new society people who had worked for former regimes. How to enable them to take part in healing the scars of war. How to reorganize the national economy with half of it in the South, formerly dependent on the war machinery and foreign assistance, with more consumers than laborers. How to meet the needs of a normal life in peace — a pressing and legitimate demand of the population after long years of war.

No miracles

No miracle can help fill in a matter of days 20 million bomb craters; defuse 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs and shells; rebuild houses in 15,000 villages, cities, and towns which were either razed to the ground or heavily destroyed; take care of 1.5 million disabled persons and nearly a million widows; create jobs for 3 million unemployed, mostly in South Vietnam. It is not an easy business to turn those who got used to serving the war machine for a living — traders, consumers — into productive manpower. It takes quite a while for a generation to get trained in economic and social management, or sometimes in simple things like rice planting.

At the same time, in addition to the above problems, there is a colossal and most difficult one: Vietnam has had no peace. China started a two-pronged war against Vietnam: one in the southwestern border, using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and the other in the North, in an open invasion of Vietnam. This has caused heavy losses and stagnated efforts in postwar national reconstruction.

In Kampuchea, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, having betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people and their Vietnamese comrades-in-arms, became the shock troops of Chinese expansionism in Southeast Asia. They not only turned Kampuchea itself into a mass death chamber but also initiated

ed repeated attacks on provinces in Vietnam.

Hundreds of massacres were committed against our population along the borders. In April 1978 six battalions of Pol Pot troops infiltrated Ba Chuc in An Giang Province, 16 kilometers inside Vietnam. They burned down 3,600 houses, herded the villagers into a pagoda and then killed them with guns, grenades, hoes, and knives. There you can now see a mass grave no less horrible than the ones you see in Kampuchea.

In the northern borders, the destruction caused by the Chinese invasion is no less devastating than Washington's B-52 carpet bombing. In addition, China instigated and coerced the Hoa people in Vietnam to flee or cause disturbances or riots to destabilize our country.

'State of war and peace'

So it can be said that since 1975 Vietnam has been in a state of peace, then war, and now half war-half peace. In a period of seven years, Vietnam's independence and sovereignty were more than once in peril. Imagine what would have become of Vietnam had we not defeated these aggression plans.

Natural disasters were another problem. Two floods brought about a 3-million-ton rice deficit and 6 million people homeless.

Never before in their history have the Vietnamese people dealt with so many problems at one time as today. China, given the green light by the U.S., is resolved to "bleed Vietnam white," as they put it.

Postwar reconstruction is a huge task. But Vietnam does not receive any significant international capital aid and is subjected to an economic blockade. Pressure has been exerted on different countries to stop economic relations with Vietnam. In the meantime, the threat "to teach Vietnam a second lesson" remains a Damocles sword suspended over our country. Four hundred thousand Chinese troops, massed close to the border, are engaging in daily provocations.

It is understandable that such a tough life, with the constant threat of war, has prompted a number of persons in Vietnam to go abroad to seek a more comfortable life. Many who profit by this situation, organizing illegal departures to make money, have been punished. Our government is cooperating with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a number of recipient countries to organize orderly departures to ensure the safety of those who leave. Those who are listed on the orderly departure program have normally met with more difficulties with the recipient countries than those rescued on the seas.

Communist Party congress

In short, in the past years Vietnam encountered enormous and seemingly insurmountable difficulties. However, as compared with the previous periods of history, the most difficult time has passed. In its recent fifth congress held from March 27 to April 1, 1982, the Communist Party of Vietnam summed up its work from 1975 and drew the following conclusions:

1. Over the past seven years, the Vietnamese people have achieved a number of important objectives: the reunification of the country in political, economic, and cultural fields; healing of wounds of war by rebuilding houses, schools, factories, bridges, and roads; restoring agricultural and industrial production in the two zones of Vietnam.

2. We have successfully defended independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and defeated the two-pronged war of aggression launched from the southwest and north of our country.

3. A number of objectives on construction and improving the people's living conditions have not been met. This is due to the lack of peace, lack of experience, and to deficiencies in economic and social management.

The fifth congress has adopted a number of important decisions on tasks and targets in the economic and social fields in the next 5 and 10 years. Specific measures have been charted to overcome deficiencies and errors, to include more young people qualified in technology and economic and social management, in the leadership. Our motto is "all for the reconstruction and defense of the country, for the happiness of the people."

Looking back at the past seven years, we are proud

Continued on next page

'Mismeasure of Man': a reader responds

Dear editor:

There was a contradiction in Claire Moriarty's review of Stephen Jay Gould's "Mismeasure of Man" [*International Socialist Review*, February]: (1) "Stephen Jay Gould's new book . . . says . . . intelligence does not exist," and (2) Gould calls intelligence "a wondrously complex and multi-faceted set of human capabilities."

Just because intelligence has many components and is a complex, generalized abstraction, is it unmeasurable? We can measure complex, nonmaterial functions. Speed is not a material entity, but we can measure it. It is a complex function of the conversion and transfer of energy which we can break down into components: If, for instance, we are considering a runner, speed depends on muscle mass; on the efficiency of the biochemical system for generating mechanical energy in muscle; on the length of the long bones of the leg; on the general coordination of body movements; on training, etc.

To say that we cannot measure a function because it is not "a real, physical, heritable property of the human body" is like saying we cannot measure the speed of an athlete or a car. Of course, this measurement is an average (like Lewontin's average height). A body does not move the same number of miles or yards in every minute. But Lewontin is not saying that averages are not useful (he uses them all the time). Imagine the casualties on our highways if we had no way of measuring speed!

"IQ is not in your genes," says Moriarty. Well, that's strictly true, but let's consider whether we can identify some components of "intelligence," like those of speed, that may be affected by genes. We might itemize: capacity for learning; capacity for rational, logical thinking, for putting two and two together and making four; and even the capacity for intuitively synthesizing apparently unrelated data into a system that shows a relationship of its components to one another.

Now, there's no question that Down's syndrome gives children afflicted with it an impaired capacity for learning of the academic kind. Down's syndrome is due to an imbalance in the number of one particular chromosome in our set of twenty-three; and chromosomes are the carriers of genes. Does this mean that the capacity to learn, and maybe other functions of the brain are entirely determined by genes? Indeed, no: nothing is entirely determined by genes, for they don't act in a vacuum. Genes and gene products interact with other cell components in the course of development, and these processes can be influenced by environmental factors such as nutrition, exercise, socialization and acculturation, etc. And then, even with the best genetic predisposition and every opportunity to develop speed, runners will perform poorly if they are tired, or sick or out of training.

Nevertheless, Marxists should not dismiss genes as being of absolutely no account — that's what the Ly-

senkoists tried to do in the Soviet Union, wiping out for years the application of genetic methods to improve farm crops and herds. Nor must we ignore real differences in the brain. The left and right hemispheres are indeed used, by men and women, for different specialized functions. One of the specialties of the left hemisphere is speech, and damage of this side sometimes results in aphasia — loss of speech (verbal IQ is affected, too). This occurs three times as often in injured males as in injured females. Evidence of other kinds suggests that women suffer aphasia less often because their right hemispheres are able to take over the function of speech, while in men this is not so, or less so. A great deal remains to be learned about these hemisphere differences.

To sum up: We don't really know what intelligence is, nor what is measured by IQ tests. We do know that the IQ tests have been terribly abused to support racist and sexist prejudices. We also know that IQs can be markedly improved or lowered, depending on environment. But in criticizing the use of measurements, let's not throw out the baby with the bathwater. Let's not become antiscientific and stop trying to measure; or throw out the genes; or forget that there is a material basis for thought processes, the brain, whose wondrous activities are due, not to its gross size, but to its minutely detailed organization.

Eileen Gersh
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Vietnam's struggle for peace & economic survival

Continued from previous page

of having accomplished a considerable amount of work, having overcome difficulties, and having created a firm basis for the days to come.

Noteworthy is the care given to the people. Priority efforts have been made to bring a new life to the disabled, drug-addicted, widows and orphans, prostitutes, pickpockets, and others.

Literacy drive

We have rapidly wiped out illiteracy in the areas liberated after 1975. We have been awarded a prize by UNESCO for this achievement. At present, 16 million people — one-third of the population — go to school or take training courses. We have developed medicine, gymnastics, and sports. We have elaborated the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and institutionalized the people's collective democracy.

Scientific and technical branches have made some progress in meeting the task of reconstruction and defense of the country.

During these difficult years, a group of four Vietnamese teenagers won the first prize in international mathematics competition in London in 1979; young pianist Dang Thai Son won the first prize in the Chopin international contest in 1980; Pham Tuan, the first cosmonaut of the third world, participated in a scientific research flight under the Intercosmos program in 1980.

In the field of foreign affairs, Vietnam has been pursuing a policy of friendship and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of respect for their independence and sovereignty, without interference in their internal affairs. In spite of untold difficulties and obstacles, Vietnam has had economic relations with countries of different social regimes: socialist, nonaligned, and Western countries as well.

In addition to the Thac Ba hydraulic station and the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City railways built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, there are the Swedish Bai Bang paper mill, the Danish cement factory, the Australian ox farm, the Indian Murat buffalo farm, the Cuban cattle farm.

The U.S. government and its Western allies cite the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, the missing-in-action question, and the departure of refugees as reasons that make impossible normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam. The United States and China also seek to persuade other countries to use these as reasons to carry out the same kind of crusade against Vietnam. They set the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea as a precondition for improvement in the relations between the U.S. and Vietnam.

We wish to reaffirm that Vietnam has always de-

sired to have normal relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries, including the United States. This conforms to Vietnam's and the United States' interest. But Vietnam will never bargain or trade the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops for normalization of relations. The presence of our troops in Kampuchea is at the request of the Kampuchean people and is in keeping with the treaty signed between the government of Vietnam and the government of Kampuchea. This is a matter of principle, concerning the sovereignty of Vietnam and Kampuchea, and therefore cannot be bargained.

Vietnam's assistance to the Kampuchean people, to stop genocide and now to defend their independence and sovereignty, constitutes an obligation of ours as a neighbor of Kampuchea. It is just and moral. It is also a question of security, of life and death in the interest of the two peoples.

No one has the right to prevent the five front-line states in southern Africa or the Nordic countries from assisting one another when they deem it necessary to unite in struggle for their common interest. No one has the right either to force Vietnam, Kampuchea, or Laos to leave their neighbor, their comrade, in time of need.

U.S. war drive and defense of USSR

Continued from page ISR/2

der capitalism, making possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art.

But the bureaucracy, by blocking optimum economic planning, by diverting huge sums in the form of special privileges, by defending its positions with monstrous repressive measures, stands squarely in the way of converting the Soviet Union into a shining example with enormous political appeal to the oppressed masses everywhere.

Obstacle of bureaucracy

The injury to the defense of the Soviet Union is enormous. The Kremlin forgoes — in fact rejects — active support of the masses. It seeks to restrain or divert them from carrying out a socialist revolution in their own countries that could bring about a definitive victory: the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

The Kremlin favors class-collaborationist deals with the main imperialist powers in which it plays the role of leading — or trying to lead — anticapitalist forces to their doom.

The Kremlin's practice of class collaboration thus emerges as deadly sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union.

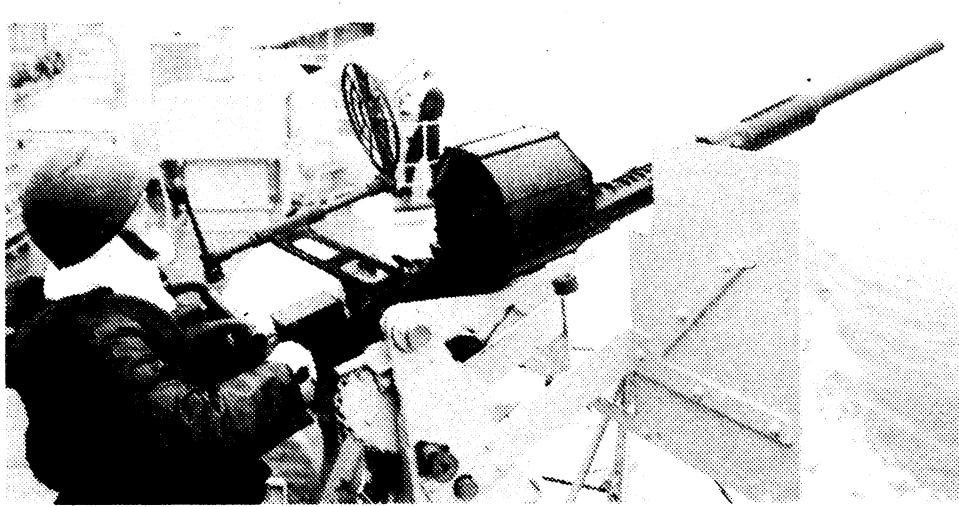
If we now place within this political context the

Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives. Brezhnev is to be blamed all the more because he permitted the new White House demagogue to appear as the proponent of reducing nuclear stockpiles although he is completely committed to stepping up the nuclear arms race.

Brezhnev even permitted Carter to leave the impression that Moscow — not Washington — believes that an astronomical nuclear stockpile is a military imperative.

Had Brezhnev challenged Carter to join him in reducing nuclear stockpiles to a maximum capability of destroying humanity only *once*, it appears to me that Carter would have had some difficulty in replying. Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to a one-half capability, one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on. Why shouldn't rapid decay rates be imposed on stockpiles of nuclear arms?

But Brezhnev will not do that. Nor Carter. "Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."



British task force in South Atlantic

History of Britain's scramble for colonies

BY ALAN FREEMAN

"Poor little Belgium" was the cry on every politician's lips when Britain went to war in 1914. Millions of British, French, and German workers were sent to their deaths to "defend small nations against the militaristic Prussians."

But then as now, when Britain's imperialists went to war they cloaked their greed in hypocrisy.

Even as the cannon fodder left for Flanders, the new coalition government was burying the remains of Lloyd George's Home Rule for Ireland Bill. 1916 saw the Easter Rising in Dublin mercilessly crushed by troops withdrawn from France.

Then, as now, Britain's rulers fought for "freedom" beside the most reactionary governments of the world.

Helping democratic Britain fight the rapacious Hun was the semifeudal autocracy of Russian Tsar Nicholas, holding down over 30 small nations and an army of serfs.

A year after the Dublin rising Russian workers taught their "civilized" European sisters and brothers a new way to fight for freedom when they overthrew the Tsar, and six months later made the first socialist revolution.

But it soon emerged just whose "freedom" the British armies were defending, as Russia's "allies" turned their forces against the new revolution. The Russian road to freedom was infectious: in 1918 German workers overthrew their wartime government and sued for peace. Only then did British workers begin to fight their own rulers as a wave of strikes swept the country. In 1921 the Trades Union Congress set up "Hands off Russia" committees all over the country, and industrial action stopped war supplies leaving the ports.

It had taken six years to discover what Labor's leaders still have not realized: that British armed forces could never be used in workers' interests because they were paid, run, and officered by the ruling classes, who wanted only to defend the privileges and domination of British investors.

The lead-up to 1914 was a greedy scramble for colonies. Under the excuse of "civilizing" the world, British traders and investors had built the strongest navy in the world.

But Britain's empire was different from those that went before in another way. The colonies paid formal tribute to Queen Victoria, but the real robbers were Britain's industrialists. This was the world's first capitalist empire.

The empire began with colonization. From the 17th century onwards English adventurers shipped out convicts, political dissidents, and the starving peasants of Ireland and Scotland to settle huge areas of the globe on their behalf.

In countries like Canada, America, and Australia they murdered the indigenous peoples and drove them from the land: in countries such as Africa and India they set up puppet ruling structures.

Behind the drive lay fantastic profits. In the 18th century English traders reaped huge fortunes from the "triangle trade" capturing slaves in Africa, who were sold for cotton in America. The cot-

ton was brought to Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, and London — whose cloth financed adventures in Africa.

But with the Industrial Revolution came a new relation with the colonies. Britain began to organize world markets to plunder them for food and raw materials in exchange for British manufactured goods. From Africa and South America came minerals and food, from the East spices and cotton, from the dominions came mutton. Out went railways, bridges, mining machinery and gunboats.

To become the world's workshop, Britain had to force her customers to buy. The empire prevented the enslaved countries from developing their own industry, creating dictatorial and cruel regimes to hold down starving people — to suit Britain's thirst for profit.

The army has mostly been driven out — but the chains and the scars remain. The "third world" is a British creation. The poor, and the dictators, of Argentina, Chile, Africa, and the far and Middle East are the product of British greed — maintained even today by that same greed.

London socialist forum protests war

Two hundred people turned out April 19 for a protest meeting in London against Britain's war on Argentina. It was sponsored by *Socialist Challenge*.

Andrew Thompson, a journalist for *Latin American Newsletter*, explained that the Malvinas Islands belong to Argentina. "The Argentinian CGT unions have approached the British Trades Union Congress for discussion on the situation and asked them to recognize Argentinian sovereignty," he explained.

Rafael Runco, who was imprisoned by the Argentine junta for five years, told the meeting that the large demonstrations in that country now were not supporting the regime, "but showing the anti-imperialist feelings of the Argentinian people."

Richard Rozanski, a leader of Revolution Youth and a member of the national committee of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, also spoke. He proposed a resolution calling for the withdrawal of the British fleet from the South Atlantic, an end to Labor Party support for Thatcher's war moves, and for support to antiwar actions.

Brian Grogan, editor of *Socialist Challenge*, asked, "Does anyone really think Thatcher is going to war to get rid of fascism? The fleet has gone to defend British imperialism. It is a question in this dispute of supporting an oppressed people and nation against an imperialist nation."

Grogan also condemned Labor Party leaders like Denis Healey for backing Thatcher's military moves. He noted that Healey had initiated arms sales to the Argentine junta during the last Labor Party government.

Grogan pointed to the deep antiwar sentiment in the British population. "Already," he said, "one-third of those asked in opinion polls oppose the war drive before the first shot has been fired.

Coalite: the people who gave us dioxin

The articles on this page are taken from *Socialist Challenge*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the International Marxist Group, British sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

BY ALAN FREEMAN

The Malvinas — as all South Americans call the Falklands — are almost wholly owned by the company that makes the poisonous 245-T weedkiller. The company — Coalite Limited — took over in 1978 when oil was found between Argentina and the Malvinas.

Freedom is close to Coalite's glowing heart. Dioxin — the main component of 245-T — was behind the killings and maimings caused by the defoliant Agent Orange in the Vietnam War.

It caused the 1976 Seveso disaster in Italy, in which a toxic cloud poisoned a whole town.

In 1968 an explosion in Coalite's Bolsover plant in Britain killed one worker and injured 79. Since then the company has blocked all attempts to investigate the incident and its after-effects.

Coalite got the Falkland Islands in its 1978 takeover of the Charrington, Lockett, and Gardner group.

In a 1976 advertisement Charrington's explains how it backs up the gallant islanders' determination to "stand on their own two feet" with a "contribution of £2 million worth of wool every year" — of which the company pockets £400,000 (£1 = \$1.80).

It describes itself as "the biggest employer on the island." This is overmodest. The company *is* the island. It owns 50 percent of the land outright and a further 25 percent through interlocking directorships.

It owns all shops, runs all auctions and wholesaling, the banks, and the shipping line that takes goods to the is-

land and wool back to Bradford, Britain, where it is sold to merchant David Smiths, in whom Charrington's has a 50 percent interest.

It is of course a socially concerned company. "We try to discharge our responsibility," it explains, "not just as regards conditions of employment but in sponsoring social activities and community efforts."

It also displays due patriotic concern on the islanders' behalf. "The company is pledged to do its best to see that Britain does not let them down," it declares.

This patriotism may have had slightly more to do with the mineral prospects off the island than the islanders on it. Prospecting began in the early 1970s when Charrington's took over the islands and Shell made its first oil strike off Tierra del Fuego in 1977, a year before Coalite's takeover.

Surveys suggest that the thickest oil-bearing strata are to be found on the "putative median line" between the Malvinas and Argentina — in other words, just where British territory will lie if the islanders' patriotic spirit (and of course Coalite's) is duly rewarded by Mrs. Thatcher.

Coalite is well-suited to inherit Charrington's freedom-loving, public-spirited defense of the island community. Its Derbyshire plants in Britain were a continual source of complaint from mine: s who found the smoke hung "like a heavy pall over everything," but found the company strangely unwilling to do anything about it.

In 1968 an explosion in its Bolsover plant killed one worker and injured 79 more, exposing 90 in all to toxic by-products of the low-temperature carbonization process which creates the fuel called Coalite at the same time as a host of dioxin-related poisons.

Coalite continued using these products to make 245-T until the Seveso incident, but has tended to keep its reasons to itself.

In 1977-78 Coalite was forced by pressure from the Health and Safety Executive to authorize a follow-up study of workers exposed to the explosion's effects. It then refused to publish the results, blocking a further study by using a loophole in the Health and Safety regulations, despite appeals from the Health and Safety Executive, the unions, and the Derbyshire Council.

Jenny Martin, the clinician who carried out the study, finally published some of the results in the medical journal *Lancet*. Her house was subsequently burgled and records of eight subjects of the study were removed.

There is no duplicate copy and the work is now lost. The police say the case remains on their books as unsolved.

Socialist Challenge

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New York transit pact is blow to union

BY RICK CONGRESS

NEW YORK — The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) bosses have made big strides toward their goal of rolling back gains won by past struggles of transit workers and weakening the Transport Workers Union (TWU) here.

On April 29, a three-member binding arbitration panel, neither chosen by nor representing transit workers, handed down a contract settlement. It eliminates the cost-of-living agreement and deals other blows to the union. The contract expired April 1 with no agreement between the union and the MTA.

Under an amendment to the New York State Taylor Law enacted March 16, the 35,000 city transit workers were placed under binding arbitration for one year. The amended law provides that the panel has final say on what a new contract will be if no agreement is reached by the expiration of the old contract. The law retains all of the antilabor, no-strike penalties against public employees.

MTA President Richard Ravitch expressed his satisfaction with the new contract. According to the May 1 *New York Times*, "Mr. Ravitch, in discussing the arbitration award, said he was particularly pleased by the panel's abolish-

ment of work quotas, the limitations placed on overtime, the elimination of many old oral and written agreements from past years that had proved themselves to be barriers to increased efficiency and the extension of the contract from two years, as in the past, to three years."

Ravitch should be pleased, because he got exactly what he needed to step up management's drive to weaken the union and worsen working conditions.

The now eliminated work quotas and "oral and written agreements" represented the historical gains of the union won over the years to protect workers from arbitrary and punitive practices concerning the amount of work in a particular job, safety on the job, unfair disciplinary measures, favoritism, and harassment of union militants.

The initiative is now in the hands of management to impose policies favorable to itself and make them stick as the new established practices. In cases of disputes between the union and the MTA over interpretation of the existing contract, an "impartial arbitrator" is called in to rule.

For 33 years Theodore Kheel was the mutually agreed-upon arbitrator for the transit system. On April 5 the MTA

forced his resignation because it claimed that he made too many rulings favorable to the union.

Any experienced transit worker knows that Kheel has not been biased in favor of workers. The bosses wanted him out because he was not antiworker enough. This reveals how they will try and use this new contract, and how any "arbitration" rulings on its interpretation will go from now on.

Pay raises in the new contract are 7 percent in April 1982, 6 percent in 1983, 4 percent in April 1984, and 3 percent in July 1984.

Even with the reduced inflation rate, transit workers will lose ground in spendable income over the three years of the contract, especially since the cost-of-living agreement, which was in the last contract, has been eliminated.

The three-member panel reserved ruling to a later date on a few other issues. One of these is the demand of the MTA to eliminate pay for bus drivers for swing time between morning and afternoon runs. The May 1 *New York Times* reported that "it was all that administration officials could do to refrain from gloating" over the transit contract.

Contract negotiations with other big municipal unions will open soon, and

the city hopes to use the transit pact against them. Bruce McIver, Mayor Edward Koch's director of labor relations, said, "The hope is it will have some impact in lessening the expectations of the workers."

The April 30 *Times* reported that John Lawe, president of the TWU Local 100, said he was not "particularly enthused" with the new contract, but "felt that the overall decision did not require givebacks or concessions that the union had strongly opposed."

The imposition of binding arbitration in April was itself a setback for the union. Lawe and his recently elected executive board supported and lobbied for the law. The membership was never consulted. They were also kept in the dark during the negotiations.

Has the right to discuss and vote on the contract been taken away? What rights do workers now have on the job? These and other questions are being asked by rank-and-file workers.

Transit workers needed, and need now more than ever, a real democratic discussion on how to unify in the face of company attacks, how to prevent the extension of the binding arbitration law, and how to get rid of the antilabor Taylor Law.

CALENDAR

Hands off Argentina!

MICHIGAN Detroit

British Hands Off Malvinas! Speakers: Robert Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

OHIO Cleveland

British Hands Off Malvinas Islands! Speaker: Louise Haberbusch, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., May 15, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Why Alabama Needs A Workers and Farmers Government: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Martin Boyers, steelworker and candidate for governor; Reba Williams-Dixon, leader of Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from revolutionary Grenada. Sun., May 9, 7 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

No to Deportations: Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Hamid Sodeifi, threatened with deportation to Iran; Juan Rascón, El Salvador Refugee Program. Sat., May 8, 7:30 p.m. Wesley Community Center, 1300 S 10th St. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

Israeli Independence Day: 34 Years of Repression Against Palestine. Speakers: Jim Altenberg, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

Tucson

Stop the Deportations Rally. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, fighting for political asylum in U.S. Tues., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Southside Presbyterian Church, 317 W 23rd St. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Stop the Deportations! Héctor Marroquín: His Fight for Political Asylum. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, socialist who faces deportation from U.S. for his political beliefs; others. Traducción al español. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

U.S. Presses Effort to Deport Héctor Marroquín. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, socialist facing deportation for his political beliefs. Sun., May 16, 3 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

FLORIDA

Miami

Rally to Protest Reagan's Attacks on Workers Rights. Speaker: Harris Freeman, fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political ideas. Fri., May 14, 7:30 p.m. New Covenant Presbyterian Church, 4300 NW 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Truth About Cuba: What the U.S. Government Is Trying to Hide. Slide presentation and eyewitness account by Garrett Brown, member of Teamsters Local 528 and Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Rights and Lives in Danger: Issues Facing Women. Speakers to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

War in the Middle East? Speakers: Sharif el Musa, Palestinian activist, graduate student at MIT; Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore Sq. T-stop). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

Israeli Aggression Against the Palestinians: Recent Events on the West Bank. Speakers: Brian Elam, SWP National Com-

mittee; Palestinian speaker to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Statewide Campaign Rally and Banquet.

Speakers: Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota; Bill Onasch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 22, 6:30 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. banquet, 8 p.m. rally. 508 N Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$5 banquet, rally free. Ausp: 1982 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325 or (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Behind Israeli Terror: Crisis in the Middle East. Speakers: John Rosen, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Election Night Open House. Meet Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark, and Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Tues., May 11, 5-9 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Ausp: New Jersey 1982 Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Evolution Vs. Creationism: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speakers: Cliff Conner, Socialist Workers Party; Lin Fulcher, member, Newark ACLU Board of Trustees. Fri., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Puerto Rico and Disarmament, Militarism and the Caribbean. Speaker: Jorge Rodriguez Berouff, professor at the University of Puerto Rico, director of Research Project on Militarism in Puerto Rico. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 989-6820 or 741-3131.

NEW YORK New York

Rally to Launch Socialist Workers Party Campaign. Grand Opening of New Campaign Headquarters. Speakers: Diane Wang, SWP candidate for governor; Steve Wattenmaker, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 22, 6 p.m. reception, 7:30 rally. 79 Leonard St. (off Broadway, five blocks south of Canal). Ausp: New York SWP 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or 226-8474.

PENNSYLVANIA Harrisburg

Statewide Socialist Campaign Rally.

Speakers: Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Dan Milk, Young Socialist Alliance; Dave Nack, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (organization for identification only). Special guest speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Taped message from Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California. Sat., May 15, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Party to follow. United Steelworkers Hall, 1024 Herr St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Pennsylvania SWP 1982 Campaign. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Disarmament and the New Antiwar Movement. Speakers: Tom Carpenter, Citizens Alliance for Responsible Energy, organizer for Ground Zero Week; Jackie Rubio, coordinator, Cincinnati Central American Task Force; Joe Lombardo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 2nd Congressional District. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Jobs, Justice, and the Voting Rights Act.

Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Sarah Gardner, president, Cincinnati chapter of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Charles Hughes, Cincinnati chapter, National Black Independent Political Party; Art Slater, executive director, Cincinnati chapter of NAACP; Teresa Brown, chairwoman, Cincinnati Anti-Klan Network. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

TEXAS

Dallas

Black Rights Under Attack: From Mexia to Ft. Worth. Speakers: Bill Stoner, Black rights activist; others. Sat., May 8, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

San Antonio

Another Arab-Israeli War? Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

Immigration raids: 'Welcome to the war zone'

BY DIANE WANG

"My son said there was a raid of a factory in the same building where he works," Ana told us in the restaurant during lunch.

"Are they really raiding subway trains?" Maria asked. "One of the operators said they were."

"I don't think so," Ana answered. "Immigration says these are mostly factory raids. Not that you can

UNION TALK

believe them. They also say they're going after people who make good money. I don't think my \$3.85 an hour is so good."

"Excuse me," a person at the next table interrupted. "Did you know two places up the block were raided this morning? They took 7 at one factory and 30 at the other."

"No, it was more than that," said the man behind the counter. "I saw them take two truckloads."

"They were wearing uniforms and lined everyone up in handcuffs," declared one witness.

"There were handcuffs, but no uniforms," the counterman corrected him.

"Sure, there were uniforms," the witness insisted. But then he looked unsure. "Well, in my country they usually come for you in uniforms."

"Welcome to the war zone," I sighed. "They seem to have brought the war home from Central America."

Everyone at our table looked uneasy. Maria started going through her purse, looking for identification. "I don't know what to do," she said. "I haven't worked in so long and we need the money. So how can I stay home? But I'm so scared. All I can do is pray."

"I don't have any ID either," complained Theresa. "But you're Puerto Rican; you're safe," Maria said.

"Sure, but will they take my word for it?" Theresa was worried. "I lost my birth certificate. I got nothing."

"Well, I don't think they can raid a union shop," said Ana. "There was a case in court."

"But unfortunately the court order only covered a specific area," I put in. "And the government appealed it, so even that may be gone. That's what the union told me."

"So there's nothing," Maria concluded.

"Well, you do have a right to refuse to answer questions and ask for a lawyer. You get at least that," I explained.

"Not much," Maria said. We all nodded.

"What can I do? How will we make it through the afternoon?" Maria was really upset.

"Well, it makes me mad," said Ana. "They need us. Who else is going to work like this? They couldn't afford it if everyone was thrown out of the country. If all the immigrants refused to show up for work one day, then they'd see."

"Who's the immigrant?" demanded the man behind the counter. "You and me and him? Everybody is an immigrant to this country except the American Indians."

"And you know those white caucasians? They're the illegal of the illegals! They came here with their knives and guns and stole the whole country. So how can they be talking about illegals?"

No one felt much like eating. We headed back to the shops where we work. All except for Maria, who went home sick.

Diane Wang is a garment worker in New York City.

The U.S. war against Vietnam that never ended

Continued from Page 6

States government — with the help of Argentina, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Thailand, and Britain — blocked \$5.3 million in aid by the UN.

The February 8 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* notes that "most Western countries and Japan also are cooperating with the U.S. in withholding reconstruction funds" from Vietnam. Although Sweden and now France contribute small amounts, the magazine estimates that "the Western embargo costs Hanoi a half-billion dollars yearly."

In addition to trying to make Vietnam "feel pain" through financial and economic pressure, Washington is encouraging Vietnam's neighbors to take military action against it. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations have encouraged the Chinese regime and the Pol Pot forces that previously ruled Kampuchea to attack Vietnam.

In an attempt to increase Vietnam's isolation — and to justify its own chemical warfare buildup — the Reagan administration is waging a propaganda campaign accusing the Vietnamese of using chemical weapons, so-called yellow rain, in Kampuchea and Laos.

Richard Burt, the director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, claims that the State Department's physical evidence means "we now have the smoking gun." The sum total of the "evidence" consists of one leaf and stem and one water sample supposedly brought from Kampuchea by

Pol Pot's forces, and two scrapings from rocks in Laos.

In the May 1982 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Jamie Kalven notes that "the State Department's conclusions have been received by the scientific community with a measure of skepticism — not only because the full evidence upon which they are based has not been made available for independent analysis but because various of the assertions made by Burt have, upon examination proved at best premature and at

worst demonstrably erroneous."

While Washington is pointing its finger at Vietnam, the Pentagon is rapidly increasing its own chemical weapons arsenal. The Defense Department has presented a chemical weapons production program that could eventually cost up to \$6 billion. In fiscal 1983 alone, the Pentagon's budget requests \$705 million for chemical warfare, of which more than \$100 million is earmarked for the development of chemical weapons.

Vietnam is directly threatened by this

buildup. The commander in chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific, Adm. Robert Long, has asked Congress to approve deployment of chemical weapons in the Pacific and Indian oceans.

The American people played a major role in stopping direct U.S. intervention in Vietnam. It is up to us to wage a campaign to break the economic, military, and political pressure against Vietnam and to demand that the imperialist countries provide reconstruction aid to the Vietnamese people.

May 1 rally held in D.C. against Reagan

BY NORTON SANDLER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A week of activities protesting the Reagan administration's attacks on poor and working people culminated in a march and rally here May 1. Called "The National Days of Resistance," the protests were organized by the All-Peoples Congress founded last fall at a Detroit conference.

The Washington action focused on cutbacks in vital federal programs like food stamps, housing, and welfare. The rally also called attention to attacks on the rights of gays and lesbians, senior citizens, and the handicapped.

About one-third of the 4,500 demonstrators were Black and Latino. Included were a number of welfare rights groups that came by bus from Detroit, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Chicago, Bal-

timore, and Cleveland.

Contingents on the march included lesbian and gay rights activists, student groups from Baruch and LaGuardia colleges in New York, Iranian supporters of the Mujahedeen, and others.

About 100 Latinos marched in a contingent with signs supporting the rebel forces in El Salvador and demanding that the U.S. get out of that country. A few people marched in union contingents.

Although the war in Central America was not the major theme of the rally, and no mention was made of the June 12 antiwar rally scheduled for New York, one of the most enthusiastic responses of the day was given to Beth Perry, representing the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

(CISPES).

She told the crowd that "the U.S. government used the elections in El Salvador as a desperate attempt to stop the people." Perry also said that CISPES offers its "complete support to the people of Nicaragua, who are under a state of siege forced by the covert war of the U.S. and Honduran governments."

Larry Holmes, a leader of the All-Peoples Congress, chaired the rally and urged people to join the APC as the best way to fight Reagan's program.

Other speakers included Minister Michael Amon-Ra of the National Black United Front; Josephine Butler from the D.C. Statehood Party; Paul O'Dwyer, former New York City Council member; and Annie Chambers, a Baltimore welfare rights leader.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-

A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

George Bush's visit to South Korea

Washington faces growing opposition to its domination of South Korea, where in 1980 it helped crush a major upsurge of workers, students, and farmers and installed a new dictatorship. Despite fierce, ongoing repression, the South Korean people are renewing protests against the U.S. government, its client regime, and the continued occupation of their country by tens of thousands of American troops.

Hundreds of students demonstrated April 26 in front of a cathedral in downtown Seoul, South Korea, while U.S. Vice-president George Bush attended a dinner honoring American-South Korean relations.

Bush came to South Korea to reaffirm political support for the government of Chun Doo Hwan and to pledge further military aid.

The students chanted slogans against dictator Chun and passed out leaflets calling for the release from jail of Kim Dae Jung, a well-known opposition leader.

The demonstration followed a mass given for a priest who was arrested for harboring two students accused of burning a U.S. government building in Pusan on March 18.

While students demonstrated in Seoul, the Reagan administration in Washington called upon Congress to authorize \$210 million in arms sales to South Korea for next year — \$44 million above the current amount.

The protest actions in South Korea reflect a growing willingness on the part of the masses to speak out against Washington and its puppet, Chun, despite the ever present threat of arrest, torture, and murder by authorities.

Last fall demonstrations occurred at many South Korean universities calling for an end to Chun's rule and for the removal of the 40,000 U.S. troops occupying the country.

Several weeks ago a letter was sent to Reagan signed by 42 South Korean priests and ministers demanding the recall of U.S. Gen. John Wickham and U.S. Ambassador Richard Walker. Wickham heads the joint command of U.S. and South Korean troops.

Immigration raids threaten labor

Continued from Page 1

Maria Aguayo, 21, was arrested at a nightclub with a friend who also had permanent residency status. She pointed out, "I kept on telling them, 'I'm an American citizen.' But they just laughed at me and said, 'You're a wetback and you're going home.'"

In Detroit, 71 of the 107 people picked up had to be released when their families produced papers showing that they were working legally.

The scope of the INS attack goes beyond the harassment of Latino workers who are citizens.

On April 18, as part of the stepped-up activity of the INS, a checkpoint was established on U.S. Route 1 between Florida City and Key Largo in south Dade County, Florida. All motorists driving past the checkpoint had to submit to questioning by the U.S. Border Patrol.

One motorist, Jerry Moomey, was wearing a T-shirt that said, "I'm Irish. What's your excuse?" He refused to answer when a border cop asked him if he was a U.S. citizen. The cop warned, "You answer my question or you are going to stay here. We can stay here all day if that's what you want." Moomey had to acknowledge that he was a citizen before they allowed him to leave.

In Dallas, parents of grammar school children complained to their Parent-Teacher Association that INS cops were standing outside their school asking the children if their parents were born in Mexico.

The government would like to legitimize a system of checkpoints on highways and in front of schools.

They would like to be able to set a precedent where cops can raid the workplace at will to intimidate undocumented and U.S.-born workers alike.

These raids are also part and parcel of the Pentagon's intervention at the workplace through company finks and government spies. As Washington deepens its involvement in war in Latin America, it has

He gave the order to release South Korean troops in 1980 to crush in blood an uprising in Kwangju.

This growing anti-imperialist sentiment is clearly expressed in the text of leaflets left at the U.S. building burned in Pusan.

"The United States should not make Korea its subordinate country, but leave this land," the leaflet stated. "Looking back on history from the 15 August Liberation [from Japan in 1945] until today, the United States, while providing economic aid for Korea, has closely colluded with Korean businessmen and forced us to obey its domination under the pretext of being an ally.

"The United States has supported the military regime which refuses democratization, social revolution and development, and unification.

"In fact, the United States has brought about the permanent national division," the leaflet said, referring to the desire for national unification felt by millions in both North and South Korea.

Washington's huge occupation force in South Korea is a permanent threat to working people there, as well as to the workers and farmers in North Korea, who have abolished capitalist rule and made big social and economic advances. The U.S. government has directed constant harassment at North Korea, including spy flights and armed provocations at the border.

These attacks have failed to block identification of South Koreans with the gains of their sisters and brothers in the North. Sentiment for reuniting the country is growing.

Were it not for the massive aid and troops provided by the U.S. government, the Chun dictatorship in the south could not stay in power. Like the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, it is a regime hated by the people and maintained only through U.S. military might.

The American people have no interest in propping up dictatorships like that of Chun in South Korea. We should demand an end to U.S. aid to the regime there and withdrawal of the U.S. occupation force.

stepped up "security investigations" in plants with war contracts. Antiwar workers and other union activists have come under their scrutiny. A number have been fired at plants like Lockheed in Georgia and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

The deportation of thousands of Salvadoran refugees and the internment of more than 2,000 Haitian refugees in camps across the United States, without due process, are also part of this drive against democratic rights.

Hector Marroquín, a socialist and antiwar activist, faces a deportation threat along with two Iranian socialists — Hamid Sodeifi and Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh — because of their political beliefs.

Border cops, FBI finks, and company spies have one thing in common — to keep working people divided and to prevent any opposition in thought or deed to the corporation's policy of cutbacks and unemployment at home and wars abroad.

Opposition to the INS raids is beginning. Five hundred people demonstrating in Los Angeles protested the raids on May 1, and another demonstration is being planned for May 13. A similar demonstration will take place in Dallas on May 8. A number of news conferences have taken place where Blacks, Latinos, clergy, and elected officials have condemned the raids.

More protest activities and education need to be organized to get out the truth about the wider implications that these attacks have for the democratic rights of all working people.

Especially important is the role that the labor movement should play in exposing these raids as nothing more than the anti-working-class, union-busting moves that they really are.

Halt the racist immigration raids!

Hands off the undocumented!

Stop the deportations!

Malvinas Islands and imperialism's outposts around world

BY CONNIE ALLEN

The events surrounding the Malvinas Islands are good cause to step back and look at why the British imperialists would put up such a fight over a tiny group of islands, and why Washington would share Britain's concern.

It's true that the area around the Malvinas is considered rich in oil. And it's true that British capitalists

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

have important investments in the wool industry on the islands.

But there are political and military reasons involved, too.

Following the Second World War, a huge part of the world that had been directly controlled as colonies by the imperialist powers gained political independence. Most of these countries remain semicolonies today, economically exploited by imperialism. Argentina is one of these semicolonies, a victim of both British and U.S. domination.

While the imperialists derive great profits from countries like Argentina, they also have an interest in maintaining small enclaves like the Malvinas. As they continue to try to police the world to maintain their political and economic domination, they need outposts, footholds, and military bases in every part of the world.

Ascension, where the British fleet stopped on its way to the Malvinas, is a good example. It is an island in the South Atlantic owned by Britain and leased by the United States for a military base. Needless to say, the U.S. government readily made its base available to the British fleet for refueling.

Diego Garcia is another example. When Britain was forced in 1968 to grant independence to the Mauritius Islands, it held onto one of them, Diego Garcia, which then became part of the British Indian Ocean Territory.

The British government has an agreement with the United States to use the islands jointly for military purposes. Given its location in the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia is particularly key for imperialist military moves against countries in the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent.

Prior to building a naval communications base on Diego Garcia in 1970, all 1,200 residents were forcibly evicted and moved to the slums of Port Louis, capital of Mauritius. Today they still live in homes made out of beaten tin cans and are continuing their fight for the right to return to Diego Garcia.

Micronesia is a group of islands in the South Pacific. The U.S. government gained possession of them during World War II from the Japanese and used them to store the atomic bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki. Since that time, the islands have been used as a nuclear testing ground for the United States and other imperialist governments.

The United States carries out tests it couldn't get away with so easily on "American" land or on "Americans," like testing the effects of nuclear fallout on humans.

The U.S. military now wants to build a superport for the Trident-armed submarines in Belau, one of the South Pacific islands engaged in a struggle for independence.

There is also the Panama Canal Zone, where 10,000 U.S. troops are stationed, and the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba, a direct threat to the revolutionary people of that island and throughout the Caribbean.

Washington's reaction to Argentina retaking the Malvinas recalls its reaction when another semicolonial country seized back land that belonged to it. That was the case of Goa, a Portuguese enclave on Indian territory.

When the Indian government kicked the Portuguese out of Goa in 1961, the Portuguese imperialists cried "aggression," much as the British are crying today. Washington backed them up.

The January 1, 1962, issue of the *Militant* carried an article by Fred Halstead on the Goa situation. He termed Goa "the last foreign colony on the Indian subcontinent." In the United Nations, Halstead reported, "U.S. delegate Adlai Stevenson led the attempt to halt the Indian action. . . . Stevenson and the British and French delegates declared that any attempt to liberate colonies by military means is a threat to world peace."

Then, as now, Washington's real concern was losing imperialism's military means to maintain profits and exploitation.



Blacks move to forefront of antiwar movement

A poll conducted late last year and reported in *Focus* magazine, put out by the Joint Center for Political Studies, showed that most Blacks are convinced that U.S. foreign policy does not operate in our interests. Eight out of 10 Blacks in the sample expressed agreement with the statement, "I am worried that



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

Ronald Reagan is pursuing risky policies that could lead the United States into a war."

Recent polls indicate that white workers are rapidly catching up with this level of distrust of the government's foreign policy — a policy that has been leading closer and closer toward a U.S. war in the Caribbean and Central America.

The growing antiwar movement is an example of this. The 40,000-strong demonstration in Washing-

ton, D.C., on March 27 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and the massive support for nuclear disarmament of the U.S. warmongers are serving notice to the ruling class that working people will not support their war moves abroad.

Blacks have been in on the ground floor of this development. One of the many contributions that Black organizations bring into the antiwar movement is a general mistrust of U.S. government policy. They see that U.S. foreign policy is as racist as its domestic policy.

An example of this is the march that is taking place right now to defend the Voting Rights Act that is due to expire this August. It is organized by many Black groups, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as a response to Reagan's efforts to pass a watered-down version.

The march, which started on April 19 in Alabama, will travel through five states until it reaches the nation's capitol. The leaders of this march have spoken out against the growing military budget and aid to the Salvador junta while needed social services are being gutted and civil rights legislation is being threatened.

Organizations like the National Black Independ-

ent Political Party (NBIPP) and the National Black United Front (NBUF) have been active participants in the building of the June 12 antiwar demonstration planned for New York. They have fought for the coalition to take up demands against U.S. intervention in the colonial and semicolonial world and to defend the rights of Blacks against racism here in America.

The NBIPP has a section in its charter on disarmament and the draft. The charter is opposed to the draft. It says that no Black should be forced to serve in a war to fight against people who are struggling for liberation like we are here.

The charter also demands that the government stop sending military arms to repressive governments like the one in El Salvador. It demands a halt to all U.S. spending on military weapons, explaining that "the United States' military establishment and its arms policy pose the greatest threat to world peace and humanity."

At the same time, the charter recognizes the right of liberation movements to be armed to defend themselves and to fight against their oppressors. Weapons are not the issue. It's whose hands these weapons are in and what they are used for. This is what is decisive for the activists within the NBIPP.

LETTERS

Marvelous magazine

I am currently an incarcerated young man, due to "America's injustices." I was introduced to a marvelous magazine called the *Militant* by a friend. He has recommended this magazine to numerous Brothers here. I personally think very highly of this publication.

I would like to know, is it permissible that I might receive a subscription to this remarkable magazine so that not only can I keep abreast of the issues concerning this troublesome world in which we live, but also to recommend it to other Brothers who have unfortunately been victimized by "American injustices."

Any pamphlet that you care to offer me would be most appreciated.

A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana

Gratitude

I really love to read the *Militant* because it gives me a factual look at the news. It's just so hopeless to try to put any faith in the syndicated news media, because they distort everything.

I truly appreciate you sending the *Militant* to me, and though I cannot offer any financial support, you have my gratitude. Thank you.

A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas

'Militant' can help

I have been receiving the *Militant* paper for over a year, and I have learned a lot about the world and the working people. I'm in prison in North Carolina and I have been trying to get more of the inmates here to get into the *Militant*. Most of the inmates here don't understand what is going on, and with the help of the *Militant* I can help them.

A prisoner
North Carolina

Contribution

A particularly inspiring letters column, "From our readers behind bars," and a little unexpected overtime pay provide the motivation and means for this contribution to the prisoners subscription fund. Enclosed is \$50.

Steve Craine
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Reading material

Presently, I am being held in the main North Karolina Koncentration Kamp. The situation here is quite desperate. We are virtually at war.

There are a number of us here who can read the "signs of the times," and therefore want to prepare ourselves. Our knowledge, or rather information available to us presently from the outside world, is very limited. We only have access to a local bourgeois newspaper, which in essence is no news at all.

We are in need of proper reading material, and if you could place me on your mailing list it would be greatly appreciated.

I, and my peers, are presently without funds, so we can only turn to your compassion.

A prisoner
Raleigh, North Carolina

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Appreciates paper

I would like to take out a subscription to your paper, but didn't want to cut out the subscription form since my friends wanted to read the paper first.

I always appreciate the chance to read your paper, since it consists of material which the other U.S. papers do not print. In such troubled times, all of us want to know what is going on.

Carrol Krause
Louisville, Kentucky

Nationalizing banks

The April 23 *Militant* article by Doug Jenness titled "Landlords, banks victimize working people" is a fine and accessible introduction to the concept of nationalization of the land.

Reading the article underscored for me a thought that has come to mind often since before I was laid off from the General Electric plant in Louisville last August. Since that period I have noted with increasing frequency a high level of concern and anger on the part of working people directed against the commanding heights of finance cap-

ital. Many of my co-workers at GE were also farmers, and I had some friends involved in construction work. These sectors are particularly hard hit by the usurious interest rates.

It seems to me that the idea of nationalizing the banks is something that makes more concrete sense to the average person than even nationalizing certain specific corporations. Everyone understands that the policies of the banks are hurting workers, farmers, and petty-bourgeois sectors. It is not as difficult to convince them that only when the banks are taken from the superrich will it be likely that they will function to serve the people and the rational development of society.

Russell Pelle
Houston, Texas

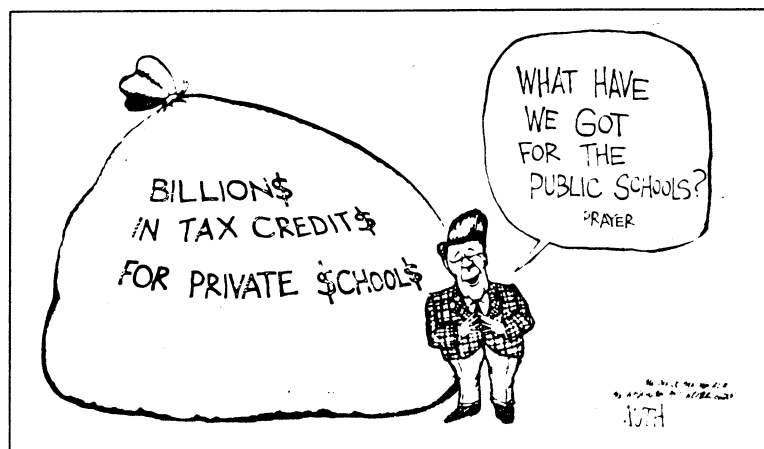
Cancels subscription

Thank you very much for your excellent coverage of such issues as El Salvador, the automobile industry, and women's and Black rights. The last two months of reading your newspaper have been informative and made me realize the necessity for action.

However, your front-page article of March 19 concerning Israeli plans to invade southern Lebanon was one-sided and inaccurate. I agree that plans for an invasion of southern Lebanon are probably in the works and condemnable. I also believe that such a move would do nothing to advance the cause of peace in the region.

What was offensive to me was the wording of the article. You call Israel an "imperialist country" but you neglect to point out that complete withdrawal from the West Bank would leave Israel extremely vulnerable (only eight miles wide near Tel Aviv). You are unable to say "Israeli government" but instead resort to the offensive "Zionist regime" or "Israeli rulers," which connotes a lack of legitimacy. You talk about worker discontent with the unemployment and inflation rate but fail to note that no one is protesting the high defense spending of the government, the main cause of such problems.

Zionists and socialists have traditionally cooperated throughout history (note Zionist participation in the American labor movement, the Bolshevik revolution, etc.), and such bias only serves to further isolation



of the two groups. Israel is a socialist country like Libya, but the plight of the Palestinians takes the front page while the treatment of foreign workers in Libya has no place in your paper. Zionists and socialists need each other urgently and the goal of both should be cooperation, not conflict.

I regrettably request that you cancel my subscription immediately and eliminate me from your mailing list. I guess I'll just have to keep looking.

Jay Goldring
New York, New York

Ban on Cuba

Working people are getting burned by the ups and downs (mostly downs) of life under capitalism and are increasingly interested in discussing Cuba's experience with socialism.

I think this is why my trip to Cuba this year has generated even more interest and discussion than my trip last year. Of course, Washington's travel ban has something to do with it also.

"The government doesn't have any business telling us where we can and can't go," is the way a mechanic I've been working with put it.

"They did the same thing by boycotting the Olympics a couple of years ago. They don't want us to know what's happening in the rest of the world." This is the way another worker put it.

Most people I talk to are not sure what to think of Cuban society or the role of the Castro leadership, but everyone is beginning to pick up one thing: Ronald Reagan hates Castro and Cuba, so it must have something to offer working people.

When people find out that because of the travel ban I may be one of the last tourists to be able to see Cuba for myself, I've been getting a flood of questions and

things to find out about.

David Salner
Evelth, Minnesota

Polynesian vote

In Duncan Williams's interesting article on opposition to nuclear testing among Pacific Islanders in the April 9 *Militant*, he makes a factual mistake in asserting that the people of Tahiti "voted overwhelmingly for Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand, because he had promised to end the tests."

In actual fact, Mitterrand received only 23.2 percent of the vote in "French Polynesia," most of whose voters live in Tahiti. His rightist opponent Valéry Giscard d'Estaing got 76.7 percent. All of the so-called Overseas Departments and Territories of France voted heavily for incumbent Giscard since they are extremely dependent on government aid.

W.R.
Hoboken, New Jersey

Correction

In the April 16 *Militant* the article entitled "Protests mark anniversary of Three Mile Island" contained several factual errors. On March 29 Project David Ratepayers Strike burned \$300,000 in unpaid utility bills, not \$30,000.

Several words were left out of a quote by Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania. The quote should have read: "I think the facts will show GPU should be nationalized and converted into a public utility, and managed by a publicly elected board which would operate in our interests in cleaning up TMI, shutting it down, and planning for alternative energy."

Voting rights march demands justice, hits cutbacks and military budget



Militant/Osborne Hart
"We are outraged that Blacks are being called upon to verify their citizenship," said Joseph Lowery.

BY JIM CARSON

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — "There are difficult times ahead, but we believe that the future of this nation will be primarily determined by what the poor and oppressed do at this point in history.

"Yes, we must march again; yes, we must organize again; yes, we must speak out again. We are going to fight back, we are going to organize, and we are going to rebuild this people's movement as it should be!"

Those were the words of Rev. Ben Chavis at a news conference here in support of the Voting Rights Act march that began April 19 in Tuskegee, Alabama, and will end in Washington, D.C.

Chavis joined Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and North Carolina Black and union leaders to announce plans for support marches and rallies in 20 cities throughout North Carolina during the month of May.

Lowery outlined the reasons for the march, which are to demand extension of the Voting Rights Act, for political and economic justice, against the budget cutbacks, and to protest the U.S. war drive.

"We are outraged that Black people are once again being called upon to verify and confirm their citizenship," Lowery said.

"We are determined that the people in this country, including here in North Carolina, will have an opportunity to express their outrage and their determination not to have the clock turned back on our political rights. We must have a strong and enforced Voting Rights Act to continue the progress that we have made politically since 1965.

"The militaristic posture of this administration threatens world peace," he added.

Lowery said that the outrage over the jailing of two Black women in Pickens

County, Alabama, was the beginning of the march. The two, Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder, were arrested on phony vote-fraud charges in a county that is 42 percent Black and has never had a Black elected official.

"They are two flesh-and-blood examples of why we continue to need a strong Voting Rights Act in this country," he said.

Leon White, from the North Carolina Commission for Racial Justice, also spoke about the broad range of support building across the state. The march entered South Carolina on May 1 and will enter North Carolina on May 19. It will pass through 20 cities and towns, including Fayetteville, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Durham, and Roanoke Rapids, before crossing into Virginia at Norfolk on June 9. A major rally will take place in Winston-Salem May 23.

Referendum set on Three Mile Island plant

BY CLEMENS BAK

HARRISBURG, Pa. — "Do you favor reopening TMI Unit 1, which was not involved in the accident of March 28, 1979?" Working people in three central Pennsylvania counties will be faced with this question in a referendum on May 18.

The voting takes place on primary day, but anyone who registered to vote in any party, or is registered nonpartisan or independent, is eligible to vote.

Although the referendum is nonbinding, a lot is at stake. Three Mile Island is a test case for the nuclear industry. The eyes of the world have been on the Harrisburg area for three years, and the 1979 accident was the most frightening example yet of the destructive capacity of nuclear power.

The nuclear industry has tried with all its might to get the restart of the "undamaged" reactor, Unit 1, off the ground. This has included throwing vast sums of money into Unit 1, while barely touching the severely damaged Unit 2, where an immediate cleanup is urgently necessary for the protection of millions. To this date the plant remains closed, largely due to the widespread antinuclear sentiment, as well as to problems resulting from the plant's own deterioration — 10,000 corroded steam generator tubes, and other safety and health hazards.

A strong turnout by supporters of nuclear power, urged on by such institutions as the Chamber of Commerce of the Greater Harrisburg Area, which called on its members to support a "yes" vote, would be a significant propaganda victory for the nuclear power industry.

Capitalist politicians on a state and national level are nervous about the upcoming vote. Governor Richard Thornburgh stirred up a hornets' nest by saying he did not believe voters should be asked whether they approve the restart. Said Thornburgh to the media, "It's a terribly complicated question to place on the ballot."

President Reagan gave his opinion on the May 18 vote: "First of all, I do believe in nuclear power, and I think the anti-nuclear forces in this country have been basing their views on a lack of information.

"I'm not going to say they are ignorant. It's that they know so many things

that aren't true . . . but I don't believe in an issue of this kind that they [the voters] can have the information that is necessary for that decision."

These two statements brought an angry response. One man stated in a letter to the Harrisburg *Daily Patriot*: "I find a chilling irony in President Reagan's recent observation that . . . voters 'do not have enough information' for their TMI referendum vote to have any significance: Mr Reagan has demonstrated repeatedly that facts are no match for his cherished preconceptions. Contrary to his view, I would venture that Central Pennsylvanians are among the most informed individuals in the world when it comes to evaluating the issues of the potential and real hazards of nuclear power."

Antinuclear activists are campaigning for a big "no" vote. On April 19 the

Vote "No" Committee opened up an office in downtown Harrisburg. The office plans to recruit volunteers to canvass neighborhoods and towns in the area and sponsor media advertisements opposing restart.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are calling for people to vote "no." Tens of thousands of flyers are being distributed that explain the views of the statewide candidates: Mark Zola for governor, Katherine Sojourner for lieutenant governor, and Cathy Emminger, for U.S. Senate. They call for an end to nuclear power, the use of coal as an immediately available energy alternative, the permanent shutdown and cleanup of TMI, and a vote of "no" in the May referendum.

SWP candidate Katherine Sojourner, a resident of Harrisburg, said, "What we are campaigning for is the permanent

shutdown of every nuclear power plant in this country.

"The Democratic and Republican parties are both responsible for the promotion of nuclear power. Giveaways to the nuclear industry and millions for nuclear weapons get their top priority, while funds for human needs have been drastically slashed by these two capitalist parties. Their concern first and foremost is to protect the profits of the utilities and the dividends of the shareholders and the banks.

"Nuclear power is unsafe — period. Every nuclear power plant in this country is a time bomb, a potential Three Mile Island, or worse. Moreover, the government has no solution to the problem of radioactive waste. That's why we urge voters to get out and give the nuclear industry a resounding 'no' on May 18."

Black socialist files suit in Calif. campaign

BY JANICE LYNN AND DAVE PRINCE

SEASIDE, Calif. — Mel Mason, socialist city councilman here, filed suit April 29 against the Monterey Peninsula College (MPC) governing board. Mason, an independent candidate for governor of California, charges in the suit that the MPC board is preventing him from exercising his constitutional right to campaign for office.

The suit was filed in the Superior Court of California in Salinas. A hearing is set for May 14.

On April 14, the MPC board had denied Mason a leave of absence to run for governor of California. Mason is employed at MPC as student activities director.

Within days after filing suit, Mason learned that important evidence in his case had been destroyed.

In recommending that the leave not be granted to Mason, Max Tadlock, college president, stated that long leaves were only granted for four reasons: job-related training, maternity or child-rearing, family problems, or health-related problems.

Tadlock stated he did not know of any other types of leaves recently granted.

It was discovered, however, that at a

college board meeting of October 21, 1981, Tadlock himself recommended that a college employee, Peggy Stember, be granted a leave for the entire spring semester to sail on the Pacific Ocean. In Tadlock's words, this was a "once-in-a-lifetime opportunity."

The suit states that in the eyes of the board "leaves for sailing are proper, leaves for seeking elective office are improper."

Since the suit has been filed, the tape of the October board meeting that granted the Stember leave has been erased. Mac McDonald, a reporter for the *Seaside Marina Tribune*, requested to listen to the tape. He was told he could come down and listen to it.

But on May 3, McDonald was told the tape had been erased on the previous Friday.

Robin Maisel, Mason's campaign attorney, called the destruction of evidence an attempt to cover up the fact that Mel Mason's leave was denied for political reasons.

Mason blasted the board's decision to deny him a leave.

"It is clear that what is really behind this decision is the fact that the board is opposed to what my campaign stands for. By their decision the Democratic

and Republican members of this board are preventing my program for working people and small farmers from being presented on the same level as the candidates of the two parties of the rich. This is discriminatory."

The candidate also charged that the board's decision is part of an effort to prevent him from attaining ballot status. Mason supporters have begun the first stage of petitioning to get him on the ballot. As of May 3, more than 16,000 signatures had been collected throughout the state.



Militant/Larry Lukecart
Socialist city councilman Mel Mason